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ABSTRACT

Materials presented in this document focus on the historical development of culture and politics and their effects on education in Poland. This document proposes that Polish education is affected by the societal pressures of socialization and change and that schools socialize children in the cultural and philosophical behavior patterns of a socialist society. However, schools also are instrumental in bringing about broader attitudinal, behavioral, and economic changes needed for effective responses to contemporary challenges. Therefore, Polish educational theories have developed to respond to both continuity and change. Chapter 1 outlines significant events in Polish history, and chapter 2 provides a perspective on Poland's social developments that explains changes in the structure of educational processes. Chapter 3 explores Polish educational traditions from an historical perspective, while chapter 4 presents information on recent educational structure and course content reforms. The current emphasis on technological education is highlighted in chapter 5, and chapter 6 presents a 142-item bibliography of English language materials on Polish education. Maps, charts, and tables are included. (JHP)

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HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND REALITIES OF POLISH NONFORMAL & FORMAL EDUCATION

by Moses Stambler

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HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND REALITIES OF POLISH NONFORMAL AND FORMAL EDUCATION; A BOOK OF READINGS

by

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Publication Number 11
Dec. 1984

I first visited Poland in the summer of 1977 and then at later dates as Associate Director of a Federally funded program. This was a joint venture with Dr. Paul Best, a colleague in the Political Science Department at Southern Connecticut State University. I had opportunities to visit schools and formal/nonformal education operations, attend lecture programs at Cracow's Jagiellonian University, and visit Warsaw, Wroclaw, Szcecin, Gdansk, Malbork Torun and areas in the countryside.

This book represents a token of thanks and appreciation for the hospitality and friendliness shown to me by many Poles on my recent trips including Dr. Artur Bodnar, Director of the Central Methodlogical Institute for Political Science Studies in Warsaw, Dr. Witold Wasniewski, Vice Director of the Political Science Institute of Jagiellonian University, and his assistant, Michael Chorosnicki. Thanks are also due to Dr. Mroczkowski, Director of the Institute for English Studies at Jagiellonian University.

The editing of this book also reflects an interest in the land from which my ancestors came. My father's family traces back to Lithuania where, in 1670, an ancestor, Rabbi Moses Ben David Ashkenazi was appointed chief Rabbi of Vilna. His great grandson and my seventh-generation removed ancestor, Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna (1720-1793) was a central figure in the Romantic-Rationalist controversy involving East European Jewry in the 18th and 19th centuries. I have started working on a biography of the Gaon and his times.

Acknowledgements and thanks are given to the numerous publishers, authors and organizations whose articles were made available for inclusion in this book.

Moses Stambler

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HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND REALITIES OF POLISH NON-FORMAL AND FORMAL EDUCATION; A BOOK OF READINGS

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INTRODUCTION

In this book, selections focus on realities of a socio-cultural and political nature that affect Polish education.

In Poland, as in other nations, education responds to two major societal pressures, socialization and change. The schools serve to socialize the children in cultural and philosophical behavior patterns of a socialist society. However, schools are also instrumental in bringing about broader attitudinal, behavioral and economic change and reconstruction needed for effective response to contemporary challenges. The dynamic balance developed in Polish education is responsive to these twin shaping forces of continuity and change.

In Chapter 1, "Polish Profile," the editor has outlined significant events in Polish history. Chapter 2, "Social Context," provides perspective on social developments and changes in Poland significant for understanding changes in tone and structure in Polish Education. Chapter 3, "Polish Education Traditions" refers to some educational features in the Polish historical context. Chapter 4, "Recent and Current Polish Education," refers to structural and content changes in recent Polish educational reforms. Chapter 5, "Educational Technology" indicates some of the technological emphasis in contemporary Polish Education. In Chapter 6, Bibliography on Education in Poland," the editor lists extensive readings available on current accessible English language materials on Polish Education.

CHAPTER 1 - OUTLINE OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN POLISH HISTORY

I. FOUNDATIONS OF THE POLISH STATE

966 - Prince Mieszko I, first Piast King, accepted Roman Catholic faith; resulted in establishment of a Polish State whose destiny was linked to the church of Rome. Conversion to Catholicism of Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary by 1000. Synagogue built by Jewish community of Wronki in 933.

1024 - Boleslaw I (992-1025) Coronated, advocated centralization. Significance:
- (a) manifestation of absolute political independence aroused indignation in Germany, viewed as a challenge to the Holy Roman Empire;
- (b) vindication of the Christian character and structure of the Polish state;
- (c) emphasized duty of sovereign to spread the faith and defend the Church;
- (d) signified acceptance of the principle of indivisibility of the state. (The first Polish state was not the private property of the dynasty).

1025 - Mieszko II coronated, followed policy of his father to maintain independence of the state and indivisibility of the crown.

1107-1138 Boleslav III (Wrymouth), advocated decentralization. Developed "Seniorate" system: (a) admitted the right of every male child to a share in Polish territory; (b) gave provinces to males as hereditary principalities in which their rulers possessed full sovereign power; (c) designated the eldest prince as the supreme ruler, with a special demesne of provinces, control of foreign affairs and military questions, and residence in a permanent capital, Cracow.

The "Seniorate" was reduced to insignificance as the power and prestige of the senior prince declined, and forces for decentralization and particularism grew in the Holy Roman Empire, as well as Poland.

13th Century - Significant changes in Poland:
- (a) intensive colonization of the land by German peasants, official welcome of Jews to Poland to develop commerce, development of towns and improvement of Polish agriculture as a result of new population wave;
- (b) diminished power of princes (privileges to corporations, groups, and individuals);
- (c) Pressure from the North where the Teutonic Knights established a state;
- (d) Polish national consciousness dawns toward end of century.

1.1 Leah and Moses Stambler, "Outline of Significant Events in Polish History"

1241 - Mongol invasions.

1250's - 1299 Rejuvenated church in Poland, almost only link uniting the many rival duchies.

1264 - Poleslaw Pobozny (the Pious) granted Jews legal protection in Poland by issuing charter (Privilegium) defining their rights. Continued policy of welcoming Jews to Poland, to increase Polish economic development. Oldest Jewish tombstone in Breslau, dated 1203.

1267 - Church council of Breslau passed canonical law to separate Jews from the rest of the Polish population. Expressed fear that newly established Christianity would fall easy prey to the influence, superstition and evil habits of the Jews living in community. Directed Jews to live apart in separate section of the city or village, threatened to excommunicate Christians who invited Jews to eat or drink with them, and directed Jews to wear a specially shaped hat to mark them off from the Christians. In 1279, the Church Council ordered that a red cloth be affixed on the left side of garments worn by Jews.

14th Century - (a) National consciousness to full light;
(b) pressure from West (Bohemia and Germany), results in Poland pressing to East;
(c) Jagellons replaced Piasts on the Polish throne by the end of the century, key turning point of Polish history before partitions.

1306-1333 Ladislaus (coronation in 1320),achievements included: reunion of many petty duchies in the kingdom of Poland, recovery of Poland's threatened position in Europe, and organization of national defense.

1333-1370 Casimir III, The Great, last of the Piast reigning dynasty; in 1368 issued the Statute of Wislica, the law code of Poland, (ratified charter of Boleslaw and extended king's protection for Jews to all provinces of the kingdom). Founded the University of Cracow. Left the nation a legacy of: (a) firm, efficient government; (b) systematic recovery of well-defined national frontiers; and (c) the cooperation of the monarchy with a well-educated and progressive community. After the Piasts, Poland was ruled by Hungarians, Lithuanians, a Frenchman, Swedes and Saxons. Casimir's achievements enabled the Polish elements in the country to hold their own against the new foreign rulers and to guide the next Lithuanian dynasty into the paths of Polish - European civilization. "He found a Poland of wood and left behind a nation constructed of stone."

1386-1434 Ladislaus II Jagiello. Longest reign in Polish History and one of the most important.
(a) Founder of one of the two great historical dynasties of Poland;
(b) embodiment of the union with Lithuania as one of the most formidable obstacles to German expansion in Central Europe;
(c) one of the greatest benefactors of the Roman Catholic Church;
(d) with an army of Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians defeated Teutonic Knights at Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg), in 1410.

15th Century - Realization of 13th and 14th Century efforts: Poland emerged as a great state, political divisions of the country were weakening and feuds and parochialism of the small princes had passed away, and polish "Pre-Renaissance" from Italy brought new humanistic trends to the country.

1400 - University of Cracow revived as the intellectual center of Poland by Jadwiga and Jagiello. The University brought the Poles into contact with the great questions of Europe at a critical time in the history of the Church. Contact with European scholars led to the Polish reception of the new ideas of Humanism.

1447-1492 Casimir IV, first prince on Polish throne who was not a foreigner or a minor, since time of Casimir III (1333-70); added territory to the kingdom; expanded to the West; slowly and systematically advanced Poland toward centralization.

1492-1501 John Albert (Jan Olbracht), dynastic influences still very strong during reign; 1497 Black Sea Expedition; opened up the whole trade of the east to Poland and broke through Muslim ramparts; destroyed oriental alliance of the Turks-Russians-Tartars-Moldavians against Jagiello's dominions.

16th Century - "Golden Age" of Polish civilization corresponded to the Renaissance in Western Europe:
(a) high development of Polish Literature resulting from the reception of Renaissance culture;
(b) assymetrical society; Poland failed to develop a native bourgeoisie, balanced economy or balanced community; 11% of the population (nearly 200,000 people) were noblemen (Shlakhta).
(c) Reformation came to Poland by 1518 and spread rapidly. Decline of Protestantism in Poland attributable to several factors: renaissance of the Polish Church effected by Hosius in the second half of the 16th Century; non-accepting attitude of the Polish crown

toward Protestantism; widespread attitude of the bulk of the Polish nation against non-Catholic sects and faiths; and absence of any deep roots toward Protestantism among the mass of the Polish nation.

1543 - Nicholas Copernicus, greatest scholar of Renaissance Poland, On the Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies, abandons the Ptolemaic theory.

1569 - Act of Union, Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia (Ukraine) became one kingdom, twice as large as France.

1572 - Death of Sigismond II Augustus, end of the Jagiellonian dynasty; Poland became a Republic of elective kings (monarch died without an hier); started an era of weakened monarchy (nobleman's democracy with "Liberum Veto").

II. INVASIONS DECLINE AND PARTITIONS OF THE POLISH STATE

Mid 17th century - crisis situations; development of towns brought to halt because of warfare of gentry. Poland reverted to an agricultural situation of feudal serfdom while neighboring nations (Russia, Prussia and Austria) developed into absolute and centralized monarchies. In Ukraine, cultural language and ethnic differences between Greek Orthodox serfs and Roman Catholic Masters.

1648-1656 - Rebellion of Ukrainians, under Cossack Bogdan Chmielnicki, against Polish gentry. Polish army defeated, and an estimated 100,000 Jews killed in massacres in Ukraine and Poland between 1648-67

1655-1656 - Swedish invasion devastated countryside, led to decline of towns

1667 - Poland lost Ukraine beyond the Dnieper River

1683 - King Jan III Sobieski ousted Turks near Vienna. Ended Turkish expansion into Europe. Polish decline continued despite military success.

1700-1721 - Polish war against Sweden.

1740 - Prussia seized Silesia.

1773 - Commission on National Education formed, the first ministry of education in Europe. A uniform system of education established on the initiative of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. Attack on scholasticism and metaphysics as focal point of education. New stress on math and natural science.

1791 - Third of May Constitution of the Seym; abolition of "liberum veto," established a hereditary monarchy.

1772, 1793, 1795 - Prussia, Russia and Austria conducted three successive partitions of Poland.

1794 - Failure of uprisings of 1794 led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko led to third partition of 1795. End of Polish State until 1918.

1807 - Napolean defeated Prussia and established the Warsaw Duchy, a puppet state. In 1815, as a result of Napoleons defeat, Warsaw Duchy replaced at the Congress of Vienna by a smaller kingdom of Poland (Congress Kingdom), semiautonomous within Russian Empire.

1830 - Congress Kingdom incorporated into Russian Empire after series of anti-Russian uprisings.

1830, 1846, 1848, 1863 - Failure of armed uprisings by Poles against occupying partition powers - Russia, Prussia and Austria.

19th century to W.W. II - Imprint of occupying powers on each of three partitioned areas of Poland.
(a) Prussian Occupied Area (Mainly Pomerania and Silesia)
1823 - Elimination of serfdom. By end of 19th century, Poles experienced high level of economic progress and activity. However, they were prevented from engaging in political activity. The Germanization policy retarded development of Polish Culture and the Polish language was not recognized. In 1873 education was removed from control by Polish catholic clergy and placed under state control.
(b) Austrian Occupied Area (Southwestern province of Silesia and neighboring area)
1849 - Elimination of serfdom. By end of 19th century, Poles in Austrian controlled area had lowest level of economic development of occupied territories. However, there was a high level of autonomy and self-government. Extended cultural development of upper classes universities revived in Krakow and Lwow.
(c) Russian - Occupied Area (3/5 of old Poland)
1864 - Elimination of serfdom. Repressive economic and political conditions. Pressure of "Russification." Formulation of a policy of official state - sponsored anti-Semitism which spread to other Polish areas.

III. RE-EMERGENCE OF THE POLISH STATE, The First Republic and Its Demise, 1918-1945

1918 - Russian Revolution (1917), end of World War I, collapse of Austro - Hungarian Empire, revolution in Germany. Poland regains independence.

1918 - First Polish Republic under provisional government of Jozef Pilsudski, Socialist Party leader.

1918-1926 - Parliamentary rule and national activity during first Republic, fourteen changes of government. Between 1926 and 1939, there were thirteen additional changes of government.

1919 - Ignacy Jan Paderewki, reconciliation candidate, appointed premier (resigns in Nov. 1919). Jozef Pilsudski, Socialist, acting provisional president, and Roman Dmowski (conservative), head of Polish National Committee in Paris sent as delegate to Paris Peace Conference.

1919 - Treaty of Versailles, and Treaty of Riga (1921) set Polish borders.

Nov. 11, 1921 - Allied powers compelled Poland to sign the minority treaty which stipulated minority rights for former nationals of Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary who now became Polish nationals. Polish "de jure" recognition of minority rights did not receive "de facto" acceptance. General feeling by government that protection of minorities in Poland was prejudicial to the consolidation of the Polish State. Numerous anti-Jewish riots and mob activity. On Sept. 13, 1934, Poland renounced the minority treaty.

1921 - Polish Republic within new borders: (a) 3/5 size of pre-partition Poland; (b) total population of more than 27 million with minority groups totaling 8 million (Ukranians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Germans and Jews); (c) proliferation of political parties

1924 - Twenty-six political parties in Poland

May 1926 - Coup d'etat by Marshall Jozey Pilsudski. Military dictatorship controlled government under strong authoritarian rule.

1934 - German-Polish Ten Year Non-Aggression Pact. "Nara," a fascist group set up in Poland by young National Democrats.

1935 - New Constitution adopted which incorporated dictatorial practices and virtually ended democratic parliamentary system.

August 1939 - Hitler concluded a non-aggression pact with Soviet Union, and invaded Poland. Poland partitioned by Nazi and Soviet governments.

1939-1945 - W.W. II - Years of Nazi occupation and attempt to eliminate Poland. Nazis exterminated over six million Poles of whom over 3 million 400 hundred thousand were Jews (Holocaust)

IV. THE POLISH STATE UNDER COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROL, 1945-1977

1943 - Claim by Polish Government in Exile in London that Soviets massacred more than 10,000 Polish officers held as prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk in 1940. Relations between government in exile and Soviet governments terminated in April 1943.

1944 - Union of Polish Patriots, small group of Polish communists who fled to Moscow early in war, formed into Lublin committee and recognized by Soviet as representing Poland

Jan. 5, 1945 - Soviet government officially recognizes Lublin Committee as Provisional Government of Liberated Democratic Poland. Wladyslaw Gomulka, secretary general of the Polish Workers' Party (Communist Party), installed as deputy premier.

February 1945 - Yalta and Potsdam conferences. Poland ceded eastern provinces (69,856 square miles) to the Soviet Union and was partially compensated with territory taken from Germany (Silesia, Pomerania, and parts of Eastern Prussia). Soviet agreement to broaden Lublin Committee into a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity by the addition of non-communist members. New coalition government dominated by the communists installed on July 5, 1945 granted formal recognition by U.S. and Great Britain.

January 1947 - Soviet-dominated communist party "legally" won elections. Opposition Polish Peasant Party undermined.

1948 - Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) formed through merger of Polish Socialist Party and Polish Workers Party. New party dominated state.

1948 - Sovietization and Moscow directed purges, resulted in denunciation and imprisonment of Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the PZPR, for "nationalist tendencies."

1950 - Polish treaty with East Germany set the Odra-Nysa line as the Western border with Germany.

1952 - New Constitution officially adopted. Name of the country changed to "Polish Peoples Republic." Process of becoming a Soviet sattelite, completed.

1953 - Suppression of religion reached high point. Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, Catholic primate, bishops and priests suspended from their functions.

1953 - Death of Stalin brought libe..lization to Poland and starte.. reduction of Sovietization and increased nationalism.

June 1956 - Poznan Riots: Violent disorders in Poland reflected liberalization trend. In August 1956, Gomulka released and restored to party leadership

1963 - Only a 1.5% segment of minorities left in Poland compared to 31.1% in 1931. Resulted from extermination of Jews by the Nazis, ceding of Eastern Poland to Russia, and the expulsion of the Germans from the newly acquired western parts.

1970 - Extensive riots in major Baltic parts reflected economic crisis among workers. Wladyslaw Gomulka deposed; Edward Gierek, Silesian political leader, replaced Gomulka (Dec. 1970)

COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. COUNTRY: Since 1952 known as the Polish People's Republic. A communist-ruled state closely aligned with the Soviet Union.
2. GOVERNMENT: Unicameral legislature called Sejm. Executive branch headed by Council of State; policies administered by Council of Ministers. People's councils exist at all levels as organs of local government. Real political power held by communist party, particularly the party hierarchy: Central Committee, Political Bureau (Politburo), Secretariat and, the most powerful individual, the first secretary.
3. SIZE AND LOCATION: Area about 120,700 square miles. Located south of Baltic Sea in eastern Europe. Has 1,885 miles of land borders, with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), and over 300 miles of Baltic seacoast.
4. TOPOGRAPHY: Central plains area dominates. Small portion of extreme south is mountainous, having uplands extending north to plains. Other areas in the northern section are elevated slightly.
5. CLIMATE: Generally East European continental dominated by high pressure systems from European Soviet Union and Siberia. West European maritime weather moderates Baltic seacoast. In the south winters are colder, summers hotter, growing seasons shorter.
6. POPULATION: About 33.7 million in 1972; annual growth rate of 0.9 percent. Density of 270 persons per square mile. More than 98 percent of people are ethnically Polish.
7. LANGUAGE: Polish, the official language, is spoken by the entire population.
8. LABOR: Work force of 18.3 million includes 9.3 million males, 9 million females. About 8.2 million were in agricultural areas, 10.1 million in urban.
9. RELIGION: About 95 percent of population is Roman Catholic. Church exerts great influence on people and is a political pressure group. Freedom of worship, guaranteed by the constitution; relatively unhampered by government controls in the early 1970s.

1.2 Eugene K. Keefe, et. al., Area Handbook for Poland Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office 1973, pp. vii-ix

10. EDUCATION: Free and compulsory through eighth grade. Standardized curricula, emphasis on technical subjects. Education is vehicle for social and economic change and for political indoctrination.

11. JUSTICE: Three-level formal court system includes the Supreme Court and provincial and county courts. Petty cases are tried before social courts. Revised penal and criminal procedure codes effective since 1970.

12. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: Seventeen provinces and five cities of provincial status are subdivided into nearly 400 counties and city boroughs. Counties are subdivided into cities, towns, rural districts, and settlements. Small communities are clustered with local people's councils generally representing about 3,000 people.

13. ECONOMY: Party and government control all economic activity. Development programmed in five-year plans patterned on Soviet model.

14. AGRICULTURE: About 62 percent of land is agricultural, over three-fourths fo which is arable. About 85 percent of farming is private rather than collective. Major crops are cereals, potatoes, and fodder. Production below potential has resulted in food shortages; failures are caused by official neglect for benefit of industrial development.

15. INDUSTRY: Stimulated at expense of other economic sectors. Labor productivity and output quality generally low. Emphasis on metal, chemical, and timber industries, particularly producer goods. Production of consumer goods below requirements.

16. FOREIGN TRADE: Foreign trade almost tripled in 1960-71 period, both imports and exports rising about 10 percent annually. Trade with Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) is double that with noncommunist countries.

17. FINANCE: Monetary unit is the nonconvertible zloty. Depending upon use, official exchange rates in 1972 ranged from 3.68 to 63.58 zlote per US$1. Currency and foreign exchange controlled by state, administered by Polish National Bank and Foreign Trade Bank.

18. COMMUNICATIONS: Postal and wire services and press, radio, and television information media are state controlled. Television increasingly available, by 1970 had nearly as many subscribers as did radio.

19. RAILROADS: With 16,500 miles of track, is the most important long-haul cargo and passenger carrier. About 75 percent of locomotives are steam, 15 percent diesel, and 10 percent electric.

20. HIGHWAYS: Network has 190,000 miles of roads, but less than one-half have hard surfaces. Highway transport carries more passengers and cargo than railroads, but passenger- and ton-mileages are lower.

21. INLAND WATERWAYS: About 2,880 miles of rivers and canals in Wisla (Vistula) and Odra (Oder) river systems are navigable, another 1,400 miles are useful for rafting. Minor role as cargo carrier.

22. AIRWAYS: State-owned Polish Airlines operates commercial services to about forty domestic cities and foreign capitals, over routes totaling approximately 25,000 air miles.

23. PIPELINES: COMECON liquid pipeline crosses Poland en route from Soviet Union to East Germany and Czechoslovakia; feeder lines from it connect to local tank farms and refineries. Major cities are served natural gas from pipelines.

24. MERCHANT MARINE: Fleet is modern and growing but has no passenger ships and carries only a small percentage of country's cargo traffic. Major ports are Szczecin (Stettin), Gdansk (Danzig), and Gdynia.

25. ARMED FORCES: Forces include about 270,000 men in regular ground, naval, air, and air defense units that are all part of Polish People's Army, subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense. Soviet Union maintains three ground force divisions and several tactical aviation units in the country.

26. SECURITY: Security forces include a militia (civil police), a security service, and a voluntary reserve of the militia organized under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and border and internal security paramilitary forces under the Ministry of National Defense.

27. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: Member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact), COMECON, and the United Nations.

OVERVIEW FOR CHAPTER 2 - SOCIAL CONTEXT

This unit focuses on social context changes significant for educational patterns and developments in the Polish socialist state. A number of social changes taking place in Poland during recent years, are suggested in "Patterns of Social Change," by Wladyslaw Markiewicz. One change noted by Markiewicz has been the post-Potsdam territorial/sociological shift in Poland from Eastern to Western areas. Another change noted by the author is from a capitalist Poland, to a People's Democracy with working class power. These changes include the structural transformation of peasant agriculture, the new status hierarchy based on contributions to socialist modernization, and the increased awareness of a growing diversification and greater service role of socialist society. The author refers also to the industrialization/urbanization processes and revolutions in the fields of culture and education, that have led to a changes in community values, emergence of new patterns of social structure, and expanded leisure. Markiewicz sees this socialist commitment as providing a new cohesive amalgam of identity, political literacy, patriotic duty and civic obligation.

In the article on "Prospects of Changes in the Life Style in Poland" by Andrzej Sicinski, the author notes the rapidly changing life-style in Poland resulting from additional choices opened up by rising standards of living, new social structure, urbanization, industrialization, higher levels of education, impact of external models, and the communications mass media. He hypothesizes a number of projections regarding future life styles in Poland.

Referring to changes taking place in intergenerational relations are articles by Stefan Nowak, "Like Father, Like Son?" and by Marta Weslowska's

"Thirty Year Olds." Although Nowak found some intergenerational differences in moral views and perspectives on the future, he does not see a generally sharp gap between the values of parents and their children. Marta Weslowska in a historical scenario of a thirty-year old in contemporary Poland, attests to age cohort values for this group, but does not see a major intergenerational gap. This gap, found in many western nations, is narrower and less noticeable in a socialist and nationalist ideological context supported by educating formal/nonformal institutions whose major task is to transmit and educate to broader community values.

The changing context in Poland is well reflected in women's new roles and improved status. In Magdalena Sokolowska's article, "Family Patterns," she points out that dramatic changes have taken place in male/female public liferoles with significantly less change taking place with interfamily relations and roles. In the inverview, "The Professional Woman in Modern Poland," Halina Lewicka notes the underrepresentation of women in the sciences, and in other professional fields, but suggests that changes will be taking place. She also refers to changes in family patterns and rules which should be taking place to parallel the emerging public and professional roles of women. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz notes in "Morals and Education," that sex mores have been changing in Europe, with Polish advances in sex education on a par with non-Catholic rather than Catholic nations. He suggests this progress might be related to the separation of Polish Church and state, which reduces Church influence in educational affairs.

Change and potential social dissonance in a socialist society are noted both by Adam Sarapata in "Occupational Prestige," and Irena Nowakowska in, "Educational Aspirations." Sarapata notes that over the past thirty years, the occupational prestige hierarchy list in Poland has

been growing shorter, reflecting a continued development of a more egalitarian society. Sarapata also suggests that a significant component of prestige in the Polish occupational hierarchy is related to social usefulness, as compared to the American focus on personal success, achievement and promotion. Nowakowska notes an increase in elementary, secondary and higher education for the general population, and a concurrent increase in the proportion of women being educated. However, she also notes that the level of aspiration of the working class students falls below that of the children of the intelligentsia, reflecting social differentiation of aspiration levels. This social class differential suggests the difficulty of overcoming aspiration levels generally associated with social class and parental occupation, even by a socialist ideology.

OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 2

As a result of completings these readings and exercises, the reader should be able to:

1. Indicate three significant social context changes in Polish society that might influence education, and suggest the possible type of influence;
2. Suggest two ways in which the life-style in Poland might change in the future, and how these changes might influence education;
3. Indicate four major intergenerational differences in the values/practices of youth and adults in contemporary polish society and suggest the significance of these differences for education;
4. Indicate three changes over the past 30 years, reflecting an improved status for Polish women;
5. List significant changes that have taken place in the occupational hierarchy of Poland;
6. Indicate three differences between social classes in Poland.

THE PATTERN OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Wladyslaw Markiewicz

The social change in progress in a population as large as a nation of 35 millions — and one at that whose fortunes have been subject to exceptionally dramatic twists and turns — cannot possibly be registered, let alone described by a single field of inquiry, no matter how elaborate. It is to be doubted in fact — see Lenin's warning about life always being more richly complex than even the most subtle theory — whether all the social sciences put together can ever wholly satisfy the thirst to know all there is to be discovered about the social realities of a current stage of development.

In the case of sociological study of the social change afoot, the demand that its conclusions do justice to the material under scrutiny is all the harder to meet for the impossibility of separating these on-going processes from the changes in human attitudes, behaviour, motivations and schemes of values anterior to them. In Poland, what is called the 'national character' was moulded in the 19th century, the period in which the majority of the nations of today took shape, and still bears the stamp of the Partitions, plus the accretions or admixtures brought by the changes in the social consciousness of the interwar years and the Nazi occupation. As a result the whole new drift which began after the last war, has been taking place in a context of re-evaluation of traditional stereotypes, habits of mind and patterns of behaviour. Though on an everyday basis we can see ourselves to be completely different nation from the one we once were, we also realize that the victory of the revolution thirty years ago and the socialist change it set in train did not fall on virgin soil and are not new plants which have sprung from the desolation and ruins left by the war and occupation, but an outgrowth of seeds which were cast far earlier. This explains the charges often levelled at us by foreign observers baffled to find a nation and state which is essentially so modern, or at any rate trying to be, given — inordinately it seems to them — to raking up bygone history and nursing antediluvian tradition.

2.1 Markiewicz, Wladyslaw, "The Pattern of Social Change," Polis Perspectives, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, June 1975, pp. 3-15

The problem of the past's hold on the contemporary mind has been given relatively scant attention in social psychology, political sociology, sociology of the nation and other such specialized branches. The methodological imperative that account must be taken of the distinctiveness of Polish history in studying all the different aspects of the country today has been paid little more than lip-service, most researchers treating it in practice as a commonplace, a vague warning that the same factors of change which are to be found almost all over the world operate in a way all their own in Poland, leaving a specific mark, abiding or temporary, on the social mentality. However, it has so far proved beyond us to develop a theory of social philosophy elucidating the mechanism whereby the continuing interpenetration between tradition and modernity creates new attitudes and motivational systems in different walks of life. Generalizations on the subject of what we are really like as a nation and how far the process of socialist construction has remodelled our psyche tend on the whole to be offered by sociologists only when they are wearing the cap of journalists.

It is such judgment, largely intuitive for all the solid knowledge of the laws of society behind them rather, than the findings of systematic enquiry conducted in accordance with the strict rules of scientific method, that have assured them a wide hearing and won them, in most cases deservedly so, popular acceptance and acclaim. I am not suggesting that the changes which have occurred since the war have not been duly reflected in the sociological literature. It will be no exaggeration to say that all the major processes and operations which have given socialist construction its thrust and pace have been taken up in scientific enquiry and found their way into learned publications, and on a scale which gives us a fairly thorough idea of their nature and course. Even if we were to assume that sociology aims at nothing more than the description and analysis of processes and institutions we would have the satisfaction of knowing that we have gathered and broken down material ample enough for future historians to piece together a picture of the Polish community at a particularly fateful time in its history.

One enormous influence on the political consciousness of the Poles was exerted by the re-drawing of the country's frontiers at the Potsdam Conference. The ceding of the eastern areas, inhabited mainly by Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians, and the recovery of the lands on the Baltic and Oder forced the Polish nation to re-think

its whole history and, above all, to see in a critical light the so-called Jagellonian line which, as interpreted by its rulers, had over the centuries involved extending Poland's borders eastwards while neglecting, not to say writing off, her native territory in the west.

The reconstruction and re-development of these recovered possessions are beyond doubt, one of the greatest achievements in the Polish nation's history; and it is a tribute to Polish sociologists that they perceived from the very start, from the moment the hostilities ended, what a golden opportunity they had as representatives of a science called upon, on the one hand, to investigate the laws of society and, on the other, to frame diagnoses and recommendations for social policy. There is now no way of apportioning how much we owe the specialists in what came to be called 'the sociology of the Western Territories', for so complex and gigantic an operation as the settlement of several million people in an area unknown to the vast majority of them and the simultaneous evacuation of over two million Germans being carried out as swiftly and — given the extremely arduous circumstances — efficiently as it was. All we can say is that from the very start the government called in sociologists for expert advice in drawing up and implementing the resettlement plans. Although, as a result of sociology being subsequently dropped from the university curriculum and the problems of the Western Territories being to some extent pushed into the background of public policy, they had to twiddle their thumbs for a number of years, they eventually returned to the task with redoubled energy.

Thanks to their studies and the competitions for memoirs they sponsored, we now have a stage-by-stage record of the extremely complicated process of the economic, cultural and social adaptation of the population of the Western Territories which was in its early days very much of a motley. We know what an uphill path was followed by its stabilization and integration and how great a part in knitting together new local and regional communities and forging national ties was played by such factors as work and work-places, schools and school-teachers, political and other public organizations, government offices, cultural institutions, the Church, etc. We can see that, despite the popular belief, the Poles do in fact have a flair for organization which in certain situations makes an ideal foil for their more usually attributed gift for improvization: reconstruction, normalization of community relations, integration of the Western Territories with the rest of the country could never have proceeded

as quickly as it did but for the enterprise and resource of their inhabitants and their readiness to see a job through.

The re-development of the Western Territories at so rapid a pace reinforced our historical and moral title to them with an additional argument which even the most diehard cold warriors and fanatical revisionists had to concede: that as part of Poland their economic and cultural prospects are greater than they ever were under German rule. The epoch making achievement of grafting them back on to the organism of the Polish state, which was accompanied by wide-ranging efforts to impress on the public the significance of these areas for the country's future, transformed the historical consciousness and political literacy of the Poles and hastened the eradication of the many irrational nationalist stereotypes and great-power illusions which had once obfuscated the Polish people's picture of the world and their best chances of making their way in it.

For people who had grown up in capitalist Poland the most immediately obvious result of the revolution must have been the changes in class structure brought by the establishment of a people's democracy. The agrarian reform and the nationalization of industry banished from the political and socio-cultural stage two classes, the landed and business interests, which had up to then called the tune in the nation's life and whose policy had largely swayed its fortunes. The problem arose of which of the remaining classes or strata had the best claim to assuming hegemony in the nation and thereby acting as the focus of its unity. It must be remembered that the appeal to national unity, on which the Poles had always set a high premium, especially at times of jeopardy as during the Partitions or the Occupation, had been chronically abused in the past and traded on by the ruling establishment for the purpose of manipulating at will the working masses and their patriotic sentiments.

In the early years of People's Poland when the working class was neither the largest social group nor strongly enough cemented internally, its qualifications for hegemony and chief binding agent of the nation were possibly disputable. It is not surprising, therefore, that a considerable following was attracted by agrarianist arguments that the peasantry, being the most numerous class, was the social force predestined for this role or that there was a brief revival of elitist

schools of thought which reserved it for the intelligentsia and the intellectuals in particular.

There were obstacles to be overcome before the Marxist-Leninist theory of the leading role of the working class in the social revolution and the construction of a socialist system and of the people's democracy as a specific form of dictatorship of the proletariat which, while a medium of working-class interests, is at the same time actively committed to ideals of social equality and justice, of benefit to all sections of society and the nation as a whole, could carry the minds of people brought up under the old regime in a spirit of depreciation and often outright contempt of the 'benighted' workingman and his capacity for leadership. The battle for acceptance of the hegemonic role of the working class was won chiefly in the sphere of practical affairs, in the cut and thrust of political struggle and ideological debate in which the object was to wed the programmes of the political parties to the model of a new type of socialist state, less attention being given to the theoretical case for the rightness of the course chosen.

It was fairly late in the day before sociologists were able to get round to scientific inquiry into the changes in Poland's class structure and identification of the laws governing them. Fortunately, these arrears were quickly polished off; at any rate, this field of research grew in Poland into one of the most strongly developed branches of sociology earlier than in the other socialist countries.

The chief area of interest was the working class and such questions as the social mechanisms of its formation in the conditions of socialist industrialization, its position in the social system of the state as a whole and of different regionsand work-places, its internal differentiation as regards education, occupational specialization, activeness in community affairs, cultural interests, life-style, etc., its relations with other classes, strata and groups. The idea of its leading role in the development of the state and its economy and culture and of its contribution to the achievements of socalist construction having been decisive, was fully confirmed by the findings of this sociological research.

The other major sections of society, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, have undergone equally profonud changes. Since sociolo-

gists before the war had devoted a relatively large amount of research to the peasantry, its place in the state and the community, its economic and social situation, there beckoned a particularly tempting opening for comparative studies. It is in fact arguable that our knowledge of the changes in the social structure of the countryside is, thanks to numerous sociological and economic writings and a vast body of memoirs, even more comprehensive than our knowledge of the working class.

The most revealing feature of the structural transformations in agriculture and in the life of the contemporary Polish village is the process by which a concept of farming as a profession has taken shape. Where the function of the peasantry as the source of the nation's food supply and the bastion of Polishness used in the past to be seen in a light verging on the mystic, its role is now viewed in the specific terms of the place it occupies in the social division of labour and production of national income and its participation in political life, in the spread of culture, etc. In other words it is no longer the size of the peasantry which is the measure of its true standing, but its contribution to the socialist modernization of the country, to the furtherance of the national programme of development and socio-economic progress. This is what makes it so vitally important to assure the rural population of equal opportunities of optimizing what it can do to raise the national economy and culture to a higher level. One of the ways is to see that its children have the same chances as their urban peers of acquiring education and skills, a goal which is the object of the recently introduced comprehensive village school and the construction of a dense network of boarding facilities. Others lie in the rationalization of farming and using the latest achievements of technology and agronomy to make it as independent as possible of the rhythm imposed by nature, in developing a rural infrastructure of amenities, and services, of a standard eventually on a par with those available in the biggest cities, in making people in the private sector of agriculture eligible for social security benefits until recently enjoyed only by employees of the public sector.

As a result of there being limits to the state's investment capacities and of a large proportion of the rural population still being inadequately orientated towards technical and organizational innovation, modern development trends have not yet made sufficient headway to be able to make even a rough guess of the point at which

the communist ideal of eliminating differences between town and country will become a reality.

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The changes in the structure of the intelligentsia can, on the evidence of sociological research, be summed up as the professionalization of this section of society. Before the war and in the early years of People's Poland it was a relatively small and clannish group, but since then, under the impact of socialist construction in the economy, culture and education, it has grown out of all proportion and become internally diversified as regards profession and function, gradually losing its sense of oneness. Within the contemporary intelligentsia, most of which is of working-class or peasant origin, there have in the meantime emerged a number of large professional groups — engineers, teachers, civil servants, economists, doctors, lawyers and so on — for whom education and occupation form the principal identifying factor and not, as used to be the case, a sense of mission, of being called upon to be the keepers of the nation's conscience.

Although there are differences, sometimes fairly basic, between these classes and their offshoots as regards not only interests and aspirations, but also mores, there is now a general consensus, corroborated by sociological research, that the advance of the proletariat to leadership of the nation has in no way come about at the expense of the other major sections of society. On the contrary, it is to the selfless efforts of the working class (not always rewarded in the past on the scale the national economy could actually afford) that the peasantry and intelligentsia owe their prominent status and stabilized position in the state and the nation and their promising future prospects.

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The chief fuel for the changes in the class and occupational structure and the attendant increases in social mobility, transformations in the family and in the situation of women, youth and other social categories, rise of new social institutions and organizations and modification of the functions of earlier ones, etc. has come from in-

tensive industrialization and urbanization processes. Since the mid-fifties these have been the subject of wide-ranging empirical investigation and theoretical reflection, which have absorbed representatives of virtually every sociological specialty, with labour and industrial sociology, rural and urban sociology, sociology of law, organization, social policy leading the way. Thus the documentation of the course and manifold social consequences of industrialization is in itself massive. Although it does not add up to a complete picture of an undertaking as stupendous in historical terms as the transformation within a single generation of a backward agricultural country into a modern industrial and urban one, since it takes relatively little account of the varying technical and economic processes of socio-economic development and concentrates chiefly on the social, political and cultural variables, it nevertheless affords convincing testimony that the Poles are capable not only of heroism in battle, but also, if the national interest so requires, of heroic achievement at work.

If we examine the effects of industrialization policy from this angle, we will find it impossible to make any unqualified pronouncements on how much of its side-effects could in fact have been avoided — for instance, the building of factories on highly fertile farmland, pollution, the excessive draining of labour from areas with high farming standards, the neglect of auxiliary investment, the inability to neutralize or at least temper outbreaks of social disorganization, etc. — all a source of damage and waste which, for all the censure they incurred and the remedies that were applied, were never wholly eliminated. One thing can be said for certain: thanks to the constant improvement of the methods of planning and steering economic and social life the costs of industrialization, which has been responsible for markedly raising the country's level of civilization and the work-people's standard of living, have been steadily reduced. We are now much better at organizing, at both national and enterprise level, the process of adaptation to jobs in industry, especially in the case of young workers, at operating a rational employment policy and controlling the drift from the land, at inculcating good habits of work and propagating new career models and attitudes to employment, at awakening a desire to excel and aspirations to self-improvement, both general and professional. The importance of welfare and cultural amenities, of the atmosphere at work, of job satisfaction, of relations between superiors and subordinates have come to be universally appreciated as factors essential to

better productivity and less disruptions as a result of inordinate labour-turnover and subjective absenteeism.

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Industrialization has gone hand in hand with urbanization, which sociologists usually treat as both a technico-economic and demographic process — the growth of towns — and a psycho-social one — the diffusion of new life-styles and relationships between individuals and groups. The systematic expansion of industry, which has in our times become the chief leaven of this process, has made for the appearance of new urban communities and the remoulding of most old ones and for changes in the fabric of ties between town and country.

Depending on the degree of urbanization and industrialization in different parts of the country, which is now acquiring a pattern of recognizably distinct regions, some of them encompassing a number of voivodships, there are to be found on a greater or lesser scale such typical symptoms of city life as a weakening of the intensity of personal contacts between members of the community and intensification of formal dealings and relationships with institutions and environments beyond the home and the local neighbourhood, mounting social and horizontal mobility and in their wake increasing differentiation of the community as regards social and geographical background, education and occupation, positions occupied and social roles created, which are less and less a matter of pesonal moral authority and more and more subject to institutionalization and formalization, smaller numbers of children and the replacement of the traditional extended family by the nuclear family, which has been accompanied by curtailment of the sphere of family life and a whittling down of its educational, cultural and welfare functions, pollution, traffic congestion, limited freedom of movement, excessive noise, and a sense of the necessity of organizing a comprehensive attack on these plagues of contemporary civilization.

As the rate of urbanization grew, increasing attention was paid — and reflected in a spate of sociological publications —to the question of how the various needs of town-dwellers could best be met. Efforts are being made, for instance, to coordinate the work of the various institutions and organizations whose job is to make everyday life easier and to see that it follows a peaceful and orderly course, while at the same time being varied and interesting. Much store is set in

particular by local tenants associations. The annual competitions for the best-kept town have for years been yielding evidence that there are boundless resources of energy and imagination waiting to be tapped here and that, if properly channelled, they can even in a short space of time help to raise the standard of neighbourhood amenity, humanize personal relations and replace the traditional forms of social ties with new kinds which offer an effective answer to feelings of alienation and insecurity.

Along with the changes in social structure and the process of industrialization and urbanization, there has been a revolution in the field of culture and education, its most salient feature, one springing from the very essence of socialism, being the democratization of these two vital areas of sociali life. As a result the slogan of 'Poland — a nation of learners', which for propaganda reasons was no doubt a somewhat inflated claim originally, stands every chance of being justified. This will mean that the criterion of education has become entrenched in the social consciousness as the principal yardstick of social status and standing and the most likely door to promotion and advancement in life, which is how most of the community already views it. This is also true of a growing section of the rural population in which, to judge by the findings of research, education is a value rated higher than size of farm.

As the average standard of education rose, so did interest in cultural affairs. This was reflected in readership of books, newspapers and journals assuming mass dimension, the spread of education in the arts and amateur art movement, a pronounced increase in the number of theatres, museums, cinemas and all sorts of artistic events and entertainments. Like other developed countries, Poland has also come under the influence of mass culture which has brought with it an incredible expansion of continually improved radio and television broadcasting. There has also been a dynamic development of physical culture, sport and recreation, cheap holiday facilities and domestic and foreign tourism.

All of this has made for a change in the community's system of values, for the emergence of new patterns of consumption and leisure, and the rise of specific regional, local and group sub-cultures. Government cultural policy, which in these past 30 years has been subject to a variety of swings, not all of them for the better, has in essence invariably been wedded to the principle of creating and

propagating a model of culture which is national in form and socialist in content.

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The depth and range of the changes that have overtaken Polish society in the thirty years of People's Poland are most tellingly and concisely illustrated by the nation's qualitatively new political literacy reflected in a view of the function and role of the state, patriotic duties and civic obligations that marks a basic departure from the traditional approach.

The vicissitudes of history left the Polish nation without a state of its own in the 19th century, the very period when modern state structures were in the making with their typical political institutions and legal systems. As a result many social scientists have observed that at a time when other national communities were developing a sort of cult of the state and its machinery, the Polish nation was driven by its struggle to preserve its identity, fought out mainly in the sphere of language, culture and customs, to see the partitioning powers and their apparatus of government as the epitome of evil and injustice. In capitalist Poland this tendency to treat nation and state as completely different and even antithetical categories not only persisted from force of habit, but if anything took even deeper root.

From the very foundation of People's Poland it was hammered home that only a socialist state could assure the nation of lasting security, optimum utilization of its material and mental resources, and broad vistas of progress in civilization and culture, and in the course of time this has been proved to be so true that the majority of the community takes it for granted. The identity of state and national interest with those of socialist construction was accepted the more widely, the more rapid the material and cultural advances experienced by the once under-privileged and deprived classes and strata, and especially among the younger generation. At any rate never in the past has the degree of the nation's identification with the state and its basic political institutions been as close as it is now. This process will now be re-inforced by systematic expansion of the community's powers to self-government, enhancement of its sense of law, and improvement of organization, administration and management at every echelon of the state hierarchy.

It is only in the context of socialism that there have blossomed

throughout the Polish nation the qualities represented in the past by its finest sons and summed up in their motto of 'For Our Freedom and Yours' which bade them rally to every battle that was being fought for social justice and national independence. A belief in the oneness of internationalism and patriotism, which is one of the cornerstones of popular democracy and the system of civic education to which it is committed, above all in the spheres of relations with the socialist states and revolutionary and national-liberation movements in the capitalist countries, has been embraced more and more widely by the Polish community. The Poles' characteristic sense of national pride and ardent love of their country, which in the past they were forced by the tragedies of their history to express chiefly though heroism in battle are now increasingly finding an outlet in conscientious discharge of national and civic duties, even though, as some sociologists would argue, emotional motivations still have a stronger influence on our corporate actions than cold, rational calculation.

I am far from suggesting that all the principles I have no more than sketchily outlined here have sunk deep enough into the consciousness of all the classes and strata that make up the Polish nation or that they wholly or at least to a satisfactory degree guide its political attitudes and behaviour. My point is that the 'national character' of the Poles has in the last thirty years undergone a thorough and, on all the evidence, irreversible transformation.

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The changes in the consciousness of the Polish community are a *continuing process* and will require constant observation, systematic research and periodic theoretical generalization by sociologists and other representatives of the humane sciences. The more so, as in a period, such as we entered a few years ago, of intensive and dynamic development of the national economy and culture whose strategic aim is to direct Poland on to the path of scientific and technological revolution and construction of an advanced socialist society with as few hitches as is humanly possible, changes in the attitudes, behaviour and value schemes of our nation will occur at a speed no doubt even faster than in the thirty years to date.

Society and Leisure

PROSPECTS OF CHANGES IN THE LIFE STYLE IN POLAND */

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The author first distinguishes between the standard of living, which is an economic level, and life style, which is the result of deliberate cultural and economic choice, dependent as to its scope upon the standard of living enjoyed. Life style is determined partly by the chances of satisfying one's needs and partly by the nature of the needs themselves. The author discusses various ways of approaching the study of this concept, with the view towards forecasting tendencies of social development in Poland. Problems are encountered due to the fact that the systems of values and habits prevalent in different social categories lead to differing opinions as to the "social minimum" of needs which must be satisfied. Another problem is the untrustworthiness of statistics concerning the "average household"; such statistics can be an oversimplification due to the multidimensional character of social change. Polish life styles are changing rapidly as a result of many factors, and many aspects of differentiation of life style cut across class differences. The author lists the most important dimensions differentiating life styles and makes a number of hypotheses regarding future standards of living, although, as he demonstrates, the possibilities of long-range prognoses are limited. Further development of Polish society will depend much on the planned objectives over the next thirty years, together with the effects of rises in consumption, the possible "import" of life styles, and the social consciousness of the people.

*/ In this paper use is made of the study *Changes in the Life Style and the Social Structure in Poland* carried out by the Group of Social Prognoses, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, by M. Czerwiński, A. Pawełczyńska, A. Siciński and J. Strzelecki.

2.2 Sicinski, Andrzej, "Prospects of Changes in the Life Style in Poland," Society and Leisure, (European Centre for Leisure and Education), No. 3, 1972, pp. 57-78.

1. INTRODUCTION

The problems which will be discussed in this article are of basic importance with a view to the possibility of prognoses of the tendencies of social development. The problems of the life style, social behaviour, needs and values have been discussed by various authors, each of them deciding more or less arbitrarily what the object of research is, what conceptual framework he works in and which empirical parametres give the best chance of pinning down the corresponding aspects of the problem. It often happens that even the concepts of "culture" and "life style" are understood as synonymous, with social behaviour, needs and values embraced by both.

In the words of Stanislaw Ossowski, "the life style is not a quality rising on a scale, unlike a level of property or education. Life style, as the quality of a class, comprises, first of all, the size and form of consumption and is reflected in the budget. The budget itself is not decisive for the life style (as soon as the "subsistence threshold" has been crossed, identical sums can be spent in widely differing ways), but some types of the life style do of course require a certain size of the budget". 1/

In this study life style will be understood somewhat differently (the difference not being so substantial 2/ - we are basing our view on Ossowski particularly in the relatedness of life style to budget). The way the problem is understood here will become clearer if we clarify the relation of life style to the standard of living.

Living standard is understood as the economic level which can be determined financially, i.e. a certain scope of an individual person's or a household's budget, the *possibility* of buying a certain amount of goods and services in a month or, even better, in a year. Living standard can serve as a characteristic of discrete units or, as a summary index, of social groups or the whole of a global society.

Life style, on the other hand, is the result of deliberate choices concerning everyday activities and taken by people with a particular living standard. Life style comprises the needs currently accepted by a given social group, as well as the *patterns*, recognized and realized, *of satisfying these needs*. An example will illustrate this point: starting

from a certain standard of living, a part of a person's income can be saved; a substantial part of it can be expended on food or other material goods; more can be expended on material goods, or again these expenses can be limited in favour of the so called cultural goods. A substantial part of the budget can go to drinks or to books or to improving the flat/house or to tourism. These chances are given only to illustrate the point, not to give a systematic survey of the field under discussion.

Generally the life style is determined partly by the chances of satisfying one's needs and partly - less so - by the nature of the needs. It is obviously much more difficult to define life style than to define the standard of living, not in the least because economic indicators are only of auxiliary importance here. On the general level of studying this problem the most adequate approach seems to us to be the *empirical* determination of particular differential features, the way they are interconnected, of sets of particular choices resulting in outlines of various rivalling life styles. This is the approach usually taken in research work. It should be added that in our view life style is not made up only of elements in the sphere of consumption; it includes features like the differentiation of occupation-professional prestige, the differentiation of participation in cultural pursuits, the differentiation of habits etc. It is, in other words, a summary of heterogenous elements roughly tantamount to the French "genre de vie" (as opposed to "niveau de vie"), 3/ the English "way of life" or the Russian "obraz zhizni".

2. LIFE STYLE AND STANDARD OF LIVING

Publications with statistical data of the incomes and expenditure of the population do not allow the forming of a precise idea that could be the starting point for a search for the relationship between the standard of living and the life style. 4/
The following areas will probably have to be taken into account:
- income (source and size);
- size and type of social consumption;
- budgets of various households.

Individual incomes

The analysis of a particular life style would seem to require the following differentiation of income sources (in this we differ from the classifications usually offered by economists): 5/
- wages; 6/
- old-age or other kinds of pensions;
- financial social benefits; 7/
- other sources of income. 8/

In 1966, incomes from work other than in farming (mainly wages) went to 55 per cent of the economically active inhabitants of Poland, together with family dependants this represented about 60 per cent of the population. The size of these incomes was differentiated from the statutory minimum (which has been rising steadily since 1950) right up to monthly incomes higher than 5,000 zloty. The Polish wage policy is characterized by the stable ratio (about 1 to 5) between the 10 per cent of workers with the lowest wages and the 10 per cent receiving the highest wages; this proportion has not been subject to substantial changes in the last 15 years, despite the continuing changes in the general level of incomes.

The wages obviously differ in dependence on the kind of work done. The ratio between manual-workers' incomes and those of non-manual workers (including professional people), an important feature of the wages and incomes policy, has been roughly 1 to 1.2 (the ratio was established in the course of the 1950-1955 Six Year Plan). Before the war there was the striking difference of about 1 to 3 in favour of non-manual workers and professional people. The ratio of incomes between the farming population and the rest of the population is 1 to 1.5. 9/

Certain differences are found between wages in various sectors of the national economy and even within the individual sectors, e.g. in various branches of industry. No comparative figures concerning the wages of equally skilled workers in various sectors or branches of the national economy are readily available, but information about averages gives a fairly precise idea of the situation. Wages also differ in dependence on the locality of the organization units that employ the worker, and on the management hierarchy.

The overall differentiation of incomes (as formed at the time of the Six Year Plan when economic conditions differed widely from the present situation) is felt both in the national economy and in the social

sphere. We shall be concerned here with the question whether or not employment in a certain sector or branch of the national economy is a factor contributing to differentiation in the life style, not in the least through the differentiation of incomes.

The standard of living is not determined so much by individual incomes as by incomes per member of a household. Data informing us about this situation can be obtained from a study of family budgets - however unreliable this source of information may be. A more precise picture of the differentiation in the standard of living could be obtained if we had at our disposal information concerning two other things. This should be, first, information concerning the size and social distribution of maximum incomes (the incomes of owners of private businesses, some categories of farmers, e.g. fruit and vegetable growers, the incomes of some categories of artists and so on). The second kind of information that is lacking is even more important: data concerning the "minimum" level. We are not, obviously, concerned here with the biological minimum, which would be difficult to calculate anyway, but rather with the "social minimum" that is conditioned by the cultural level. Nor have we in mind the sum necessary for maintaining the bare life (subsistence level). 10/ What we are aiming at is to determine the level of satisfying certain basic needs considered to be minimum from the point of view of the system of values and habits prevalent in this or that particular social category. 11/

A "social minimum" of this kind would seem to be one of the basic indicators of the economic and social development of any country. An improvement of the life conditions of groups living below the minimum level, and the raising of the indicators of the standard of living considered to be minimum, ought to be the main aim of the country's social and economic policy. 12/

In the absence of statistical data on the incomes of the high-level income-groups and of a defined "social minimum" it will be difficult to reach conclusions regarding facts that would be significant for the interconnection between "standard of living" and "life style", in other words to determine what style of life the various groups of society in Poland can "afford" (to what extent groups with various localization in the social structure can afford a car, a cottage in the country, a

trip abroad, which groups can buy modern furniture and follow latest fashion trends etc.). Research in the field of social economy should result in more light being thrown on this problem which is important for formulating a model of consumption that has to be shaped in accordance with the changes in the life style (this connection seems to be particularly important from the point of view of prognoses of future development).

Old-age and other pensions and social benefits have been included in the incomes of the population for the purposes of this study. Standard of living as a factor conditioning the life style is the result of both the income from wages and/or incomes from other sources like old-age or other pensions or benefits. Usually, nobody wants the mere fact of retirement to cause a basic change of his or her life style, formed throughout the length of his or her life, and even less does anybody want his living standard to go down. Retired people live in the same environment, with certain standards of estimating the life-style which are not - at least in our culture - changed whether the person concerned is a worker or an old-age pensioner. The pensions policy that has been followed by our country is aimed at increasing the incomes of retired people, with the general aim of bringing them as close to their former wages as possible.

Benefits and allowances of all kinds are - from the point of view of analysing the "standard of living" - one of the components of the incomes in cash of individuals or families. The fact of their being seemingly independent of the work done makes them, after all, an instrument of the policy of limiting disproportions in the standard of living.

Social consumption

It is impossible to give an idea of the differentiation of the "standard of living" in Poland without indicating the outlines of the problem of how the fund of "social consumption" is distributed. This author's view of the concept differs from the way it is used by a number of economists: we are only concerned with those commodities and services which individuals and families receive either without any equivalent payment (e.g. the health service, education - both free of charge) or at a cost lower than "market" prices (e.g. holiday board and lodging f r

a daily payment of 30 zloty, with 70 zloty or more being added from the social consumption fund).

There are no data available on the distribution of the social consumption fund between the socio-professional categories, or on the differences in how the various forms of the fund are being made use of. The general idea is that the fund should be used for levelling social inequality.

Family budgets

Family budget expenditures must be mentioned, too. No reliable data are available on the real sizes of family budgets and their differences, and no specific analysis has been made on the basis of class or social group differentiation. We shall therefore have to make do with the expenditure of an "average" household, being aware, of course, that this kind of information is inadequate.

Various research projects 13/ have shown that in 1962 the expenditure per person in the families of manual workers, in relation to those in the families of non-manual workers, was as follows:

Expenditure item	Expenditure per household member (non-manual workers) in relation to the household of a manual worker (expenditure in the household of a manual worker – 100)
overall expenditure	130
broken down:	
food	112
clothes and shoes	129
housing	145
lighting and heating	124
health and hygiene	165
culture and education	152
alcohol and cigarettes	95
other items	167
transport and communications	165

The structure of the expenditure also depends on the income level and age of the head of the household. The space available for this article makes it impossible to go deeper into these differences; the above data are quoted only to illustrate the problem of how the life style depends on the standard of living, of how the choices depend on the range of possibilities limited by the budget of the household concerned.

It seems that in the field we are concerned with in this paper the following changes can be expected to occur in the directions of the standard of living and its individual factors:

a/ general rise in the average standard of living;
b/ elimination of the problems of persons living below the "social minimum" and the raising of the minimum;
c/ rise in the share of income from employment with economically active persons;
d/ rise in the average wages;
e/ changes in the differentiation of wages between sectors and branches of the national economy;
f/ rise in the size of pensions and the number of people covered by social pensions and benefits.

Other results to be expected in the sphere of social policy:

a/ an increase in the use of consumption from the social consumption fund as a factor levelling the differences arising from the rise in individual consumption;
b/ the establishing of a system of family allowances, non-fictitious in character, as an element of the natality and industrial relations policies etc.

All these hypotheses concerning the changes in the life style must obviously be checked by serious research work which would include aspects of both economics and sociology.

In dealing with the problem of the various ties between life style and standard of living our aim has been to concentrate on what is a very important aspect of the expected changes in the life style. In deciding to point to certain problems with which economists are familiar and sociologists not unfamiliar, we were not led by a desire to systematize existing knowledge but to emphasize the ignorance that still

exists in this sphere, both in the area of statistics and economy. From the point of view of the social and economic policy of a socialist country the chances to make forecasts of changes are seriously limited by this ignorance.

Standard of living - Life style - Health

The standard of living is an insurmountable barrier limiting the range of free choice. So far we have dealt only with the economic aspects of the standard of living and its consequences as regards the life style. Just as important, of course, are certain biological properties of human beings, particularly those connected with age and health.

The limited scope of this paper does not allow a more detailed examination of this aspect of the problem; all we want to mention is that a comprehensive scientific view of the life style must take account of the basic criteria limiting the freedom and range of choice. This requires more exact instruments for investigating the connections and ties of the standard of living, general conditions of life, health and life style.

3. THE DYNAMIC OF CHANGES IN THE LIFE STYLE IN POLAND

The previous sections of this paper have dealt with the dependence of life style on the standard of living. The standard of living largely determines the chances individuals and social groups have of choosing the ways of satisfying personal needs. Below a certain standard of living there is no question of choice, since all the expenditure goes solely to satisfying so called primary or basic needs. It is above this minimum that "free choices" of cultural type begin, however limited by the standard of living. The choices cannot be defined with the same degree of accuracy as the standard of living which can be measured in terms of monthly income and the income per member of the family. Some indicator of the choices is given by the examination of family budgets (consumption patterns), but the picture is blurred by certain class, regional and family habits and traditions; individual choices are also, to some extent, formed by the experiences, peculiarities, personal preferences, needs and interests of each individual.

There exists ample literature on this subject which, however, can hardly be used as a basis for a summary diagnosis or for the formulation of prognostic hypotheses, since the material largely defies comparisons because of the types of the population under survey, but primarily because of the differences in terminology, research hypotheses and methods.

Another weakness of the current thinking on this subject is that in the field of the cultural aspects of the life style only very general terms are employed and the necessity for complex research is only postulated: thus we lack information on the needs, choices, behaviour, preferences and motivations in the context of the standard of living and other socio-economic factors.

Seen from a general point of view the life style in contemporary Poland is changing very rapidly, primarily as the result of the following factors:
- rising standard of living;
- growth of a new social structure;
- urbanization of the country;
- industrialization and new technology (the scientific and technological revolution);
- rising level of education;
- impact of patterns originating in other countries;
- mass media of communication.

The geographical and social mobility in Poland since the last world war, the disastrous poverty and destruction wrought by the war, the disappearance of the two classes that used to govern Poland before the war (landowners and the bourgeoisie), the egalitarian ideals and the social and economic policy of the new system - these all are factors that have radically modified or changed throughout the life style of all social classes and strata.

Workers in industry and peasants have been given a chance to rise in society, to form a new life style - even though for some of the groups included in this class (the workers' "aristocracy") these changes have meant the loss of a position of privilege. The intellectuals were mostly decimated by the Nazi German occupation. The new conditions

have brought a radical departure in the social position and life style of this group: all the aspects of its life style have changed.

Thus the old life style was left in ruins by the changes that had been put into effect. Changes involving the disintegration of existing social structures and social bonds are known to be reflected in the disintegration of social norms and models. As the new social structures strike root and become strengthened, new norms and patterns are formed, but this is necessarily a long-term process. It will obviously take quite some time before the process comes to its culmination in Poland. The first fact to be considered is this: the old social structure and the related criteria of differentiating into "higher" and "lower" strata have been done away with and new criteria of differentiation formed, but these have not yet become fully or unequivocally rooted in the social consciousness. The second important point is that social mobility in Poland continues to run high and the process of geographical mobility (the drift from rural areas) is still going on: this keeps causing clashes between various life styles and their evaluation. Third, changes are continuing in the life style of particular units, small groups, social strata and classes, in connection with the other factors just mentioned.

The continued *urbanization* makes it possible for vast numbers of people to acquire an "urban" life style which differs from the "rural" style both in the use of urban amenities and in different life conditions, different social bonds etc.

The maintaining of elements of a general differentiation of life styles and the growth of new tendencies of differentiation will continue to be affected by the varying speeds of urbanization in the particular region. Life style can be expected to go on being closely tied to the differentiation of geographical life patterns.

Industrialization - or in more general terms the technological developments of modern civilization - brings about the modernization of the life style of people working in the rising modern industries, operating modern technological equipment, and living in conditions of modern organization of labour.

The rising level of *education* makes people realize that there exist chances of raising their standards of living and of engaging in activities of a more intellectual and aesthetic character. This is conducive to generating new aspirations and needs.

An ever increasing role in the modern world is played by the *cultural models* extending between various countries. That is why the behaviour and aspirations of Polish public too are affected by life styles emanating from elsewhere; this is true - to a varying degree - of all social classes.

The press, radio and particularly television - the so called *mass media of communication* - are another important source of processes contributing towards the uniformization of life style. Although mass media (television in particular) significantly affect the way leisure-time is spent and spread identical contents and patterns throughout the social spectrum of the public, the intensity of their influence should not be overestimated, owing to the individual choices people make and the individual interpretations the mass media messages are subject to.

A general tendency towards the uniformization of life styles which differentiate the various social classes and strata, and towards reducing distances between the various styles can be marked in all the factors that - in one way or another - modify and shape the life style of the various social classes. The underlying cause of this is that the style-forming factors mentioned above are of a pretty *general character* in Poland and are not limited to this or that class, stratum or geographical region.

It is, of course, questionable and difficult to judge how far this process is taking a course that deserves approval, in other words how far the new life style adopts "the best" of the traditional life styles of each class and stratum, how far the process takes the opposite direction, or how far it is not tied to the criteria of evaluation(in general terms of the categories of being adequate to the basic values of the socio-economic system in Poland).

But, by and large, how do we visualize the direction the changes of life styles in Poland are taking? A number of studies have shown that

many an aspect of the differentiation of life style cuts right across class differences. The changes in the social structure have caused the disintegration of the old life styles characteristic of each class and stratum, but not as yet in general brought about the origin of new differences. This does not mean that there are no differences at all. On the contrary - differences do occur to a very marked degree, being connected with certain "dimensions" of the social stratification rather than the main elements of the social structure.

The following are the most important dimensions differentiating the life style:
1/ differences in incomes, 2/ differences in education, 3/ differences between towns and rural areas, 4/ differences in occupation.

There being no close tie between social structure and the differentiation of the life style, none of the existing social classes seem to be a "leading" class that would shape national patterns of the life style. No clear-cut model has been formed by the traditions of the various social strata in combination with the new elements, nor has any of the social classes or strata become a representative of such a new model.

The tendencies of overall changes could be characterized in most general terms in the following way: *the changes which are taking place are resulting on the one hand in weakening differences between the life styles of the individual social classes and strata, and on the other hand in a growth of the individualization of that style, in other words in the growth of differences between individuals within the same social class or stratum.* The role of social stratification can be expected to diminish (this applies first of all to the role of economic differences), considered as a factor contributing to differentiation. This statement is more in the nature of a hypothesis than a conclusion that could be supported by results of a set of research.

4. POSSIBLE MODIFICATIONS OF THE LIFE STYLE BY THE YEAR 2000

We are basing our reasoning on the hypothesis that the shape of the life style in Poland will depend on the following factors:

- the future social structure;
- rising average standard of living;
- a differentiation of the standard of living of the social classes, strata and categories;
- the ratio of individual and social consumption;
- participation in the social and political life, the degree of democratization;
- the future international context;
- changes in the social consciousness;
- the scientific and technological revolution, changes in the "natural" environment and infrastructure, developments in technology.

What role can these factors be expected to play and what consequences can be expected as an outcome? A concise answer to these questions will be attempted, not in the shape of prognoses but in the formulation on the problems that will have to be analysed much more carefully in future.

If the expectation is correct that in the next thirty years a "medium affluence" and "medium education" will be dominating in Poland (i.e. they will embrace a majority of the population), a certain dominating life style can be expected to have crystallized. The tendencies to be expected as to the shape of this life style will be discussed below. Before that is done, let us add that if the above thesis, stating that changes in the life style lead to an increased scope for individual choices and to the diminishing importance of stratification as a factor of differentiation, proves correct, and if, as can be expected, this continues to be true, the dominating life style can be expected to prescribe a range of behaviour smaller than that of any of the traditional styles of the old social classes, and to be determined by a smaller range of social particularisms; it will, on the other hand, be increasingly influenced by the social ethos and personal inclinations.

Apart from the dominating life style a differentiation of the life style of groups occupying a very important place in the social structure can be expected to appear. We also believe that a certain specific character of the rural life style will go on being maintained, despite the lessening difference between the "urban" and "rural" styles of life.

It can also be expected that a certain life style of people living on the fringe of society will continue to exist. We believe that social security will have become so wide-spread and improved in Poland before the year 2000 as to have done away entirely with poverty, and that all the handicapped (physically and mentally) individuals will be looked after by official institutions, but cases of "voluntary poverty" can, nevertheless, not be excluded where individuals refuse to accept the material and cultural values adopted by the majority of society.

Should our assumption concerning the future social policy fail to materialize and should our prognoses of changes in the social structure towards equality prove to have been wrong (i.e. the differentiation factors would cause the growth and relative stabilization of social differentiation), a stronger differentiation of the life styles of the various social classes and strata would have to be expected. The present decomposition of the life style would be replaced by a new composition which, however, is difficult to envisage. The overall differentiation tendencies would be conditioned by the role played by the factors discussed above.

The first of these is the role of consumption which was discussed in connection with the standard of living.

Another important factor which is going to be decisive for the future life style is the degree of democracy in management, in particular the degree of participation in the processes of economic and political decision-making. Increased participation could be a counterbalance to "consumption" tendencies, i.e. attaching too much importance and prestige to the consumption of material goods of all kinds.

The significance of the international context can vary considerably. First of all, it is going to influence, to a certain degree, all the other processes, among others the rate of raising the standard of living. Another consequence of the international context is the "import" of models of life styles from other countries. The shaping of the life style in Poland can thus be influenced by the particular life styles dominant in other countries and by the relative prestige this or that style is going to enjoy. Finally, the influence of the international context can also be felt in that the situation in which Poland will,

- by 2000, have become a member of the economically privileged minority of countries, will be making the internationalist feelings inherent to socialism turn against the "consumption" tendencies in the sense mentioned above. On the other hand a decline of that kind of feeling would further strengthen the tendencies towards the life style of a privileged society.

It is the changes in the social consciousness that will largely decide the shape of the life style of the future. The way the changes will be progressing is very difficult to forecast. It is necessary to ask questions on the extent and direction of the changes in the value system of our society, particularly its egalitarian feelings, its criteria of "higher" and "lower" on the social prestige scale, its "democratic ethos". The sequence of changes in this sphere, a deliberate social policy aimed at inculcating desirable attitudes, and preventing undesirable ones, can be of decisive importance in shaping the life style of Polish society in the year 2000.

Changes in the sphere of the human environment have been mentioned as one of the important factors in the forming of a new life style. Things like maintaining and enhancing the beauties of the landscape or the forming of environment, new inventions and innovations, particularly in the sphere of communications, including the use of computers - all this is undoubtedly going to make its mark on the future life style.

Our forecasts always mention the growing role of individual, personality factors of the life style as brought along by the economic, social and cultural development. This does not mean that the only consequence of this tendency would be the "lonely crowd". We visualize another chance of the existence of a plurality of life styles, in keeping with the psychological and physiological dispositions and abilities, while preserving the unity of the firm community of consciously social interests, aims and aspirations. This is an optimistic vision: how far it is real will depend on how far conflicts and differences in interests can be eliminated.

5. CONCLUSION

In his paper we have tried to outline the problems of the changes in the life style, not in the least in connection with and in dependence on the social structure; this has been done on the basis of changes observed at the present time. We were also concerned with weighing the future possibilities, mainly from the point of view of chances, but also from the point of view of possible menaces.

The material at our disposal does not make it possible to arrive at far-reaching prognoses. Not until the empirical basis has been substantially extended can we expect to improve and deepen our prognostic hypotheses which will be the result of a thorough diagnosis of the present state and of traceable laws of development.

The further development of our society will largely depend on what objectives it will want to realize in the course of the next thirty years and what roads it will choose for realizing those objectives. It was the aim of this paper to throw some light on the scope of possibilities in the spheres of our interest. If we want to deal with this problem further we shall have to work on the subject in more detail, not by trying to reach accurate forecasts, but primarily by listing all the individual tasks that are facing us.

The basic difficulty we are confronted with in trying to formulate basic hypotheses concerning the changes in the life style, notably the connection between the future social structure and the life style of society in 2000, is the lack of reliable diagnoses of the present situation. It is true that many research projects have been undertaken with the aim of investigating the social structure in Poland, but far from all the aspects of the problem have been clarified. The situation is incomparably worse in the study of the life style and its changes in People's Poland. No systematic studies are available on the life style as understood here, and - more notably - on differentiation of the life style in the various social classes. Even though an attempt has been made in this paper to point to some elements of the life style and its changes, we have not managed to portray the problem in its entirety, particularly where the most significant connection to the standard of living and its changes are concerned. Those studies that do provide

some data on the life style approach the problem usually in a distributive way, i.e. they discuss differences between people rather than between groups, and pay very little attention to the way the life style is tied to social institutions.

A task of exceptional importance continues to be the working out of new indicators of social development that would be related to qualitative aspects of life and would thus complement - and in some cases possibly even replace - the present quantitative (mostly economic) indicators of development.

This paper has shown the way to more systematic diagnostic and prognostic studies 14/ into the life style in Poland, undertaken in the framework of the research projects incorporated in the national plan for the years 1971-1975 and concerning the changes envisaged in the sphere of consumption, cultural needs and value system of Polish society. These projects constitute the basis of the work of a number of scientific centres. If this problem, taken as a "focal" one, is sufficiently clarified it can provide a basis for the social and economic policy that is going to decide what the Polish society will be like in the coming thirty years.

NOTES

1/ S. Ossowski: *Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości* (Social Structure in Social Consciousness), Ossolineum, Łódź 1957, p. 49.

2/ Out of the many views, we may quote, as an example, the following definition of the term: "... life style is a totality of behaviour, aspirations, needs, cultural customs, habits and preferences which can be measured in verifiable terms". (R. Dyoniziak, *Zróżnicowania kulturowe społeczności wielkomiejskiej* /Cultural Differentiation of a City Community./, PWE, Warszawa 1969, p. 18). It is not theory but correlation analyses that should - in this approach - define the aspect of social reality that has been determined as "life style". Another author, A. Tyszka, in the book entitled *Uczestnictwo w kulturze. O różnorodności stylów życia* (Cultural Participation. On the Diversity of Life Styles), PWE, Warszawa 1971, bases his understanding of "life style" on the ideas of M. Weber and is also indebted to American sociological studies. He points to differences between his own view of life style and that of Ossowski's:

"In the following we do not understand the category of life style as a lasting characteristic of a class, but as a synthetic qualitative expression of an individual situation. The most adequate in this direction seems to be empirical inquiring about which of the sets of features are of decisive significance for the social hierarchy and from what point of view." (*Op. cit.*, p. 107). We agree fully with this conclusion of Tyszko's, even though our view of the scope of the term is slightly different.

3/ Cf. J. Fourastié: *Le grande éspoir du XXe siècle*, Gallimard, Paris 1963, p. 23.

4/ The difficulties in getting hold of adequate data are caused by a number of factors. The reliability of information gained from the study of family budgets is thus limited by intended and unintended differences between the respondent's answers and reality (the respondent may be denying incomes from part-time jobs, particularly if they are of a more doubtful character, may be consciously giving more favourable data about money spent on drinks, but may also try to hide either extreme poverty or affluence and luxury).

5/ Incomes, then, include all payments in cash, including pensions and social benefits which are usually bracketed in other categories (as components of social consumption). We are concerned with outlining the scope in which freedom of choice is possible in satisfying needs dependent on the size of the sum at the person's disposal, as well as the source of the income.

6/ This category includes payments from wages and other funds, bonus payments, various forms of incentives etc.

7/ This category would include various benefits from employer or government, grants, scholarships etc.

8/ This income-category would seem to demand further differentiation, being rather heterogeneous (which has its social consequences), but we lack statistical data for a more adequate bracketing. Included in it are incomes from private business (a detailed analysis of distribution is rather difficult), incomes of peasants (and here it is important to include benefits in kind which form a supplement to the financial incomes). A certain category of people have incomes

from savings or receive money from relatives, including those living abroad. Incomes from illegal sources are another item.

9/ Data taken from A. Rajkiewicz and Z. Żekański: *Warunki życia ludności* (Life Conditions of the Population), in: 25 lat gospodarki Polski Ludowej, ed. K. Sekomski, PWE, Warszawa 1969, pp. 177, 178, 131.

10/ The difficulties in fixing this kind of minimum are caused by the differentiation of needs - particularly those that are usually considered as "basic" (food, clothes, housing etc.; these usually also include expenses on hygiene and health, minor personal expenditure and the cost of bringing up the children) in dependence on the physiological and psychological differences between individuals and on differences in the life environment and the type of occupation (or, in more general terms, the way of life). The determination of these factors is far from clear. Besides, it seems impossible to differentiate between biological and physiological factors on the one hand and cultural and social factors on the other.

11/ Research into this problem has shown that paying respect to social viewpoints and customs in general causes the subjects to give up the satisfaction of some needs considered to be basic, in favour of other needs which have a high prestige rating in the particular group.

12/ The problem of minimum wage and minimum reproduction costs of the labour force in capitalism was analysed by Karl Marx who also exposed the mechanism of the forming of this minimum. He wrote: "*The value of the labour force* or *the value of labour* has specific features in which it differs from the values of all other goods. The value of the labour force is composed of two elements, one of them purely physical, the other historical or social. *The extreme limit* to the value of the labour force is given by the *physical* element, which means that the working class, in order to be able to maintain and reproduce itself, in order to be able to secure a lasting physical existence, must be given the means absolutely indispensable for life and propagation. *The value* of these indispensable means for life represents the extreme limit to the *value of*

labour ... Apart from this purely physical element the value of labour in each country is determined by *the traditional standard of living*. This does not concern only purely physical existence, but also the satisfying of certain needs stemming from the social conditions in which people are placed and in which they grow up ... This historical or social element which becomes part and parcel of the value of labour can gain or lose in importance or can disappear altogether so that only the purely physical limits remain." (K. Marx, *Dzieła wybrane*, T. I., "Książka", Warszawa 1947, pp. 338-339). There is a necessity of creating in socialism a new mechanism of establishing a "social minimum", in concordance with the ideology of this system.

13/ Tymowski A., *Dochody i wydatki pracowników przemysłu* (Incomes and Expenditures of Industrial Workers), Instytut Pracy, Warszawa 1967, p. 100 et seq.

14/ As far as the prognostic conceptions in Poland are concerned, viz., among others, the following works by A. Sicński: *Prognozy a nauka* (Prognoses and Science), KiW, Warszawa 1969; *Główne tendencje we współczesnej literaturze prognostycznej* (Basic Tendencies in Contemporary Prognostical Literature), in: O podstawach prognozowania, Komitet "Polska 2000", Ossolineum, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970; *Prognozowanie a planowanie społeczne w systemie gospodarki socjalistycznej* (Prognostication and Social Planning in the System of Socialist Economy), in: Polityka gospodarcza a polityka społeczna, "Omega" WP, Warszawa 1971.

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON?

Stefan Nowak

The generation gap is a subject that has cropped up in the press from time to time. Some writers have written in terms of a dramatic conflict revealed in a variety of ways, chiefly in the sphere of mores. Others refuse to accept this, stressing that a socialist system of its nature rules out any such conflict. The trouble with these discussions has been the shortage of empirical evidence, of which there was not enough to answer the basic question: what attitudes and values are represented by the generations of fathers and sons?

To try and remedy this polls were conducted in 1972 and 1973 among children attending secondary schools in Kielce and Warsaw and their parents. The younger generation was represented by the fourth grade of general and technical schools who are mature enough to have developed views of their own on certain matters but at the same time do not yet fully participate in the life of adult society. The older generation was represented by the parents of these children, people in other words in their forties.

Needless to say, they are not a representative sample of the urban population as a whole. The familiar mechanisms of sectional secondary-school selection mean that higher education and income groups are over-represented. Thus it would be wrong to generalize the findings of the survey as a reflection of the attitudes and opinions of the whole urban population in Poland, but they do make it possible to advance certain hypotheses concerning the differences and similarities between the generations.

The evidence gathered confirmed the surmise that no acute conflict of generations or crisis of the family is to be found on a mass

A report of an enquiry carried out by a team headed by the author and composed of A. Banaszkiewicz, M. Grabowska-Tabin, J. Karpiński, K. Kesela, I. Krzemiński, M. Marody, M. Soszyńska, M. Styczeń, A. Sulek, T. Szawiel and E. Tkaczyk.

2.3 Nowak, Stefan, "Like Father, Like Son?" Polish Perspectives, Vol. XIX, No. 7-8, July-August 1976, pp. 10-20

scale in Poland. We asked the representatives of both generations what they think of each other. We discovered that in both cases there distinctly prevails the belief that, although the young differ from their elders in character and views of the world and other people, these differences are not regarded — by either generation — as significant. It was only when we came to the sphere of morals that there was thought to be a major gap.

Both generations were largely in agreement that the young have a better attitude than their elders had to study and school, but are worse than them in morals. For the young to admit their inferiority even in this field is fairly startling. By and large they accept their parents' system of judgements even if it is applied to them and shows them in a poorer light. There is not the least trace of revolt to be seen over the system of assessing people in general and the younger generation in particular. This being so, it is no surprise to find that the vast majority of the young consider that they will eventually grow up not much different from their parents. A marked conflict of generations is believed to exist only by 8-10 per cent of the parents (depending on the city) and 14 per cent of the young, while the remainder either regard it as inconsequential or non-existent.

We also asked both generations whether they thought views of the world and life varied. Here certain differences loomed, a positive answer being given by 20 per cent of the parents, but as much as 40 per cent of the young.

Our sample provided no evidence of any major conflict between the generations and while what fainter disagreements and strains there were — and these are surely inevitable in every age — they were not thought of in terms of fundamental contrasts of life or ideological values. They are chiefly a matter of things connected with study, mores and the accentuation of clashes arising out of the young's way of behaviour, for which the most common designation is 'differences of character'.

From what I have intimated so far it will already be clear that family relations fall a long way short of crisis point. In the eyes of the subjects the family constitutes the primary social group. Some 90 per cent — among both parents and children — scored it as an important group with which they feel strong ties, while a happy family life stands out on its own among aspirations in life. One gets the impression that the family is contrasted with various groups and institutions outside its circle which the individual either cannot count

on or even sees as an external threat. This powerful sense of family ties appears to be accompanied by fairly strong disintegration in other segments of social groupings. Hence, the unqualified approval of the family, which, whatever its nature, whatever its shortcomings, fulfils its function of a shield against a world seen to be none too friendly or even downright menacing.

It is also worth emphasizing that both generations are agreed that next to the family they set the greatest store by their immediate acquaintanceship (from 60 to 80 per cent), whereas groups based on ideological kinship occupy a place far down the list. The old sociological thesis about the importance of social circles based on informal personal ties is here once again corroborated.

Although internally differentiated in their views, parents and children in both Kielce and Warsaw are amazingly alike in the distribution structure of their replies about attitudes and values. On most of the items in our questionnaire inter-generation differences amounted to no more than a few per cent, which means that both as a whole accept (or, at any rate, wish to appear to) the same cultural values. The publics under consideration have developed a far-reaching unanimity as regards both specific attitudes and their whole hierarchical systems.

What is even more surprising is that this 'statistical uniformity' of views applies to the whole sample, regardless of background. Differences in the distribution of answers depending on social strata were not marked enough (barely a few per cent on the whole) to be able to distinguish groups of decidedly opposed systems of life-philosophy, attitudes and aspirations. There can at most be detected certain modifications in the more general structures of thought and evaluation common to all groups. As far as these general structural features of the scheme of values are concerned, the public in question proved to be astonishingly of a piece.

This is, for that matter, a uniformity of a very special kind. It is far from being a case of all or almost all the subjects being of the same opinion. Within each of our group classifications the views held on practically all questions are differentiated; what is so amazingly alike is the statistical distribution structure. The closer two groups stand on the social ladder, the more similar the distribution of their replies. The views of those on the highest and the lowest educational rung are buffered by the middle ones which have correspondingly in-between opinions on a given question. If we assume that social contact tends to be most frequent between people of roughly the same social standing, the way in which the views of the different groups on this ladder melt into each other seems to reveal a society composed of groups not very apart.

It is worth noting yet another aspect of this phenomenon. It was found that individual opinions are only faintly, if at all, inter-related. In other words, to think such and such on one matter determines a person's views on others only to a very small extent (if any). This has some interesting social consequences. Let us take the case of two of our sample meeting and at once discovering that on something they believe important they are of diametrically opposite minds. It might be expected that on other matters they will also differ, that they are poles apart in their ideological bearings. In fact, to judge by our findings, it is extremely likely that they will think the same.

As a result, in most such contacts the span of agreement between different people is infinitely wider than the span of disagreement. Here, then is another factor militating against ideological conflicts of a wider range. To put it briefly, it is clear from our findings that although the parents and children we polled may fall out over one matter or another, it is long odds against their deciding they disagree on most things and so represent fundamentally opposite ideological orientations.

If these conclusions were to be confirmed by further analysis and surveys of a national compass, we would have what I believe is an interesting phenomenon for both the theorist of social structure and the social psychologist: evidence of an absence of outlook crystallization mechanisms leading to the development of consistent sets of attitudes and an apparent tendency to see things separately, as a result of which, despite differences of opinion on this or that, there arise very smooth passages both between people and groups.

As I have said, on the vast majority of subjects we probed, both generations are in remarkable agreement. Nevertheless there are certain differences which, though fairly slight, build up into a pattern.

One of them involves attitudes to religion. Among the parents, 71 per cent in Kielce and 63 per cent in Warsaw declared themselves 'believers'. Among the children only 61 per cent in Kielce did so, while in Warsaw the number fell to 46 per cent. For the sake of comparison, in a poll of Warsaw students in 1958 some 70 per cent said they were believers, so the laicization trend is unmistakable.

A clear corollary of this process is the decline in strictness over sex. On the question of premarital intercourse, three-quarters of the young in Kielce and 80 per cent in Warsaw approved, whereas among the parent 50 per cent in Warsaw did so, but in Kielce — though this came as no surprise — only 44 per cent.

Another field in which distinct, if less marked, differences between the generations were found involved certain moral attitudes. When we asked about the role of moral principles in people's lives, the parents were much more inclined than their children to take a fundamental line (rigid adherence to standards), whereas the young manifested their pragmatism, maintaining that in their behaviour people ought to be guided both by general principles and circumstances and take account of the interests of others as well as their own. However, when we passed from questions of a general nature to more specific situations; the inter-generation differences shrank and in some cases vanished altogether. It may be that the young differ from their parents not so much in their values as in their reluctance to own to them when they are couched in more 'fundamentalist' terms.

Nevertheless there can be seen certain inter-generation differences on more particular matters. For instance we found — to our surprise — that the young are less ready to believe that it is worth sticking one's neck out on behalf of values like the good of a fellowman, the right to speak one's mind, etc. The only cause for which the young are less battle-shy than their parents is the defence of their country.

In the whole of the public under consideration the intensity of needs to play an active part in community affairs is, generally speaking, very high, though it is less frequent among the young. I would say that this is due to the experience of both generations in this area. But the principal conclusion that can be drawn is that for a sizeable proportion of the young the forms of organization with which they have come into contact — from school councils to youth organizations — have either failed to awaken these needs to a sufficient degree or have actually stifled them.

Both parents and children set a high value on the nation and overwhelmingly disagree with the view that patriotism is an outdated concept (the number of those who think so ranges from 8 to 13 per cent in different groups). What was more important, however, was to discover what kind of patriotism is involved, wheter it contains

features of nationalism, the belief that 'the Poles are the best nation in the world', or whether it is accompanied by the belief that other nations are equally estimable. Here there emerged an interesting difference between the generations. A decided majority of the young consider that the Poles are neither better nor worse than other nations, whereas the parents were much more apt to think of them as either better or worse. It is also worth noting that among the parents a tendency to form a critical picture of the nation increases in proportion to education, while in the less-educated groups there prevailed an 'apologetic' image. Among the young, by contrast, there is virtually no trace left of either national megalomania or inferiority complexes. On the other hand, both generations are agreed that the actions of their country are not to be supported if they are likely to harm other nations. Thus the principle of jingoism so typical of the nationalist mentality has little advocacy in the public under consideration. This is accompanied by a belief that the richer nations should provide economic aid to countries suffering from hunger and poverty and interestingly enough, among the ones from whom such help should be forthcoming, the subjects were inclined to include Poland. Here, therefore, we have clear signs of the burgeoning of a new 'internationalist' model of patriotism which is, for that matter, more strongly in evidence among the young and whose frequency rises with the level of education.

Another field in which there are distinct differences between the generations is the question of optimism. While roughly half the parents believe that more good than bad can be expected in life, the proportion among the young drops to between 20 and 23 per cent. At the same time only 10 per cent of the latter present themselves as decidedly satisfied with life, whereas among the parents from 25 to 29 per cent say they are. Moreover only 11 per cent of the young, compared with over 20 per cent of their elders, consider that people are charitable to one another. It is interesting that where these matters are concerned there is a lack of a clear and unambiguous correlation with the strata from which the young hail, which indicates that these figures are representative of their generation as a whole, irrespective almost of their social background.

How are we to account for this pessimism and misanthropy among a part of the young? To some extent they spring from the considerable atomization of the world of youth itself, which makes almost half of them reveal a sense of isolation. If we bear in mind how much

store they set by family and friendship ties, the non-satisfaction of these needs is bound to be a source of strong frustration. But it is worth drawing attention to the more macro-social causes: on the matter of careers we asked the young not only what they wanted, but whether they thought they would fulfil their hopes, and we put the same question to the parents. It turned out that the latter are much more confident that their children will succeed in their plans than they are themselves.

In one question we asked the subjects to describe their ideal in life, even if they regarded it as unattainable. We thought that, among the young at any rate, we would obtain answers testifying to high-flying ambitions or at least dreams. It turned out, however, that a decided majority of the young are strictly down-to-earth. In both cities the top score was achieved by 'requited love and a happy family life' followed by 'life among a circle of mutually affectionate friends'. This is further evidence of a proneness to withdraw into the privacy of one's family and social acquaintanceship and there seek the satisfaction of personal needs. Next on the list came an interesting and satisfying job, attainment of a decent position at work, and a quiet life. It is worth noting that the bottom of the young's scale of chosen purposes in life is occupied both in Kielce nad Warsaw by three types of aspiration: 'fulfilment of important moral ideals', 'attainment of executive status and the power of decision-making on a larger scale' and 'attainment of a prominent position in politics and a say in community and political affairs'.

This is a generation, therefore, whose dreams in life are firmly pedestrian and a far cry from the romantic visions of 'hitching your wagon to a star'.

The parents' ideals are much of a muchness with those of their children. But there is one noteworthy point. We asked the parents to describe their own ideals in life and then what they aspired for their children. It turned out that they aim much higher in their hopes for their children than for temselves. This would be understandable were it not that the young's goals in life come much closer to the ones their parents acknowledged in their own case than what they would like to urge on their children. Once again we have confirmation of the fact that in the educative process the values actually professed by the educator count for much more than the ones he would like to see pursued.

While the hierarchy as a whole is basically the same, certain differences can be detected in the aims in life of the young in Kielce and Warsaw. The popularity of 'a decent position at work and a quiet life' is in Warsaw half that in Kielce, while a higher score is recorded by three others: 'a colourful life full of excitement', 'contribution of new values to culture' and — food for thought — 'attainment of a high material position and the opportunities it brings'. Assuming that the material needs of the young in Warsaw are better catered to than in Kielce and that they have a greater sense of security because of the relatively higher social status of their parents, one gets the impression that a rise in the satisfaction of needs and sense of security pushes up the level of aspirations and plans in life. It is intersting that these may be directed either to the sphere of creativity or to consumption pure and simple.

Interesting inter-generation differences also occur in the young's own choice of personality model and the one favoured for them by their parents. The latter tend to plump for characteristics of a for-show nature, while the young place more emphasis on traits of an instrumental-adaptative value. Nevertheless both scales are headed by the ability to get on well with other people, a quality of a clearly adaptative nature.

We asked the subjects whether they had ever pondered the question of the ideal social system. We learned that this is not a subject which bulks large in the reflections of the young.

Next we probed them on the features of a 'good' social system, offering a list from which they were to choose no more than four as desirable and the same number as undesirable. The following five occupied the top five places: equality of opportunities in life regardless of social background; ensurance of decent living conditions for all; freedom of speech and the chance of expressing different opinions, the say of all citizens in government; and economic efficiency. Interesting replies were obtained as regards egalitarianism in the economic field, since it was found that the subjects do not subscribe to either of the extremes, i.e. complete levelling of earnings or excessive differentials. Nevertheless, there were many more in favour of the former than the latter, so that the egalitarian tendency is fairly strong.

But within the general similarity of views on the features of a 'good' system there are correlations to be detected between background as measured by the education of the father of the family. The higher it was, the smaller the significance attached to economic

equality and the bigger the stress placed on problems falling within the sphere of civil-rights problems and the various aspects of what might be called democratization of the operation of the system. Thus as the status of the family rose, so did the frequency of such choices of the features of a good system as 'wide scope for criticism and initiative from below', 'greater say of the citizen in the government of the state' and 'increase in the independence of experts and specialists' while there declined the frequency of 'a strong central government apparatus'. Assuming that the average standard of education will grow, it is to be expected that anticipation of a greater degree of democratization in the functioning of our system in its various fields will increase in the consciousness of the citizen and that, at the same time, interest in the question of social equality in its more economic aspects will dwindle. One can also expect a great emphasis to be put on the needs of economic efficiency, since the frequency of the acknowledgement of this as an important feature of a good system also rises with the standard of education. It is also worth emphasizing that the 'prognostic' nature of this dependency is augmented by the fact that the same pattern is to be observed in minor, but distinct differences between the generations: the young as a whole are drawing closer to the graduate intelligentsia in their scale of 'good system' preferences.

The importance of freedom of speech and opportunities of expression of one's opinions turned out in Kielce to be most strongly emphasized by both the working-class groups, in Warsaw by the workers with a secondary education. At the same time these groups were relatively egalitarian in their opinions regarding economic differentiation. It may, therefore, be said that against a general background of interest rising in the problems of freedom and falling as regards equality, workers, especially if high-skilled, are the only group which puts economic equality and freedom of speech on a par in the spectrum of their system assessments.

We asked the subjects what obstacles they saw to the progress of our country. Without going into details, let me say that a large number of the phenomena we specified can be roughly divided into two categories: ones connected with a low level of civic consciousness and personal character (eg. drunkenness, shoddy work, non-involvement) and ones which are a consequence of the malfunctioning of various institutional structures (eg. bureaucracy, bad organization, misuse of powers). In the most general terms we found that more

brakes to progress were thought to exist in personal shortcomings than in the functioning of institutions. So it is not true, as is sometimes suggested, that the Poles are inclined to pin the blame for anything wrong on the government and the system, and never on themselves. Nevertheless here, too, there are differences to be found between groups: the Warsaw sample more often drew attention to failures in the functioning of institutions than Kielce. A similar tendency can be noted as educational standards rise.

An important group of questions was directed to how the subjects view the social structure in our country. We wanted to discover whether the various criteria of social classification were thought of as a source of resentment and conflicts as between different groups. Here we were directly following up a survey I conducted in 1962 of awareness of social structure, which made it possible to compare findings and identify the main trends. As in my enquiry, the chief differentiating factor and the one causing the greatest inter-group strains turned out to be earnings, the second — surprisingly — *savoir vivre*, and the third the division into superiors and subordinates. As for the three criteria arousing in the opinion of the subjects the least strains, they were: believer or non-believer, party member or non-party member and social background.

If we compare these findings with those of the 1962 survey, it transpires that the sharpness of the distinction according to earnings has lost nothing of its force. On the other hand, in 1962 second place was occupied by differences in education which now fell far down the list as sources of strains and conflicts. I would say that this is due to a growing recognition that a division according to education is socially inevitable. Meanwhile there has been a marked rise in the importance of *savoir vivre*, which may be evidence of the growing social isolation of people from different social strata. There has also been an appreciable growth in the distinction between town and country felt particularly acutely by the youth of Kielce.

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In the end the question must be asked: is a far-reaching uniformization of values on the inter-generation scale a good thing? Undoubtedly, from a certain point of view, since it intimates that there are unlikely to be any serious conflicts between fathers and sons. On the other hand, seen from the angle of the requirements of the approach-

ing 21st century, the inordinate adjustment of the young to the values of their parents makes one wonder whether they will be sufficiently dynamic and creative to meet the challenge.

An important factor in the young's tendency to string along with the values of their elders is their sense of helplessness in the face of the surrounding world, their fear of the people and institutions around them. These moods impede the development on a mass scale of the activeness, independence of mind and creative attitudes which will be expected of us in the impending future. If we want to awaken proclivities towards creative endeavour, we must in the first place supply the young with incentives to independent reflection on both the point of their own lives and the future of their country and the world and that, too, in a manner which stimulates their 'ideological imagination' and makes them realize the importance to them personally of issues over which they can have a lesser or greater degree of control. But this kind of intellectual stimulation can only produce the desired effects if there is a 're-modelling' of the institutional set-ups in which the young function, beginning above all with the school, which does not encourage independence of mind or initiative.

Such re-modelling should aim at creating a system of incentives to creative independence of thought, rewarding initiative and spontaneous activeness. Among the younger generation there are potentially great reserves of social activeness. A proper overhaul of the conditions altering the thinking of the young will lead on a mass scale to the creation of creative and active personalities more in keeping with the requirements of the dynamic transformations of our country.

THIRTY-YEAR-OLDS

Marta Wesolowska

Born in Poland, c. 1945-50, a product of the postwar baby boom and the joy of survival. A wanted and needed child. By now he or she will be going on thirty, skilled, often a graduate.

I belong to this generation myself, and I ask my seniors to forgive me if this sketch lacks detachment and my coevals for the same indulgence if it is fragmentary.

My composite peer was born shortly after the war. Around 1960 came the first formal test of his life: the entrance exam to a secondary school. If he passed and came from a village or a small town without one of its own, attending it was still a problem — boarding facilities were scarce everywhere. So he commuted to school, which might take anything from two to four hours a day: only if things at home were very difficult and his school record was good, did he qualify for a grant covering room and board — provided he had not dropped out earlier as one out of eight secondary-school pupils did between 1960 and 1964, most of them of rural or humble background.

Among those of us who were lucky enough to have been born in a city there were also differences: and it was in secondary school that we too, first discovered the significance of who your parents were. If they were well-off in one way or another you had a flying start. You could count on their help in sweetening teachers, getting private coaching, using their connections to smooth your passage into college, making a down payment on a flat in a housing cooperative, or buying one outright...

But what if a boy's family was not so favoured and his one asset was his own perseverance? Before we follow him to university, let's look at his love life.

At primary school he had a crush on the girl at the next desk. Somewhere between the age of ten and twelve he learned the facts of life from his schoolmates. No wonder he could only snigger when, now 15 or 16, his parents got themselves tongue-tied over the same matter. Similar giggles greeted the stammerings of an embarrassed schoolteacher expected, during classes on personal hygiene (!) and biology (!), to explain to 17- and 18-year-olds where children come from.

The need to have questions answered was increasingly urgent, and adolescence only made it more so. Not only about sex, but ethics in

2.4 Wesolowska, Marta, "Thirty-Year Olds," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVIII, No. 7/8, July-August 1975, pp. 30-38

general. He felt dreadfully adrift. Too many different systems of values had been drummed into him: one at home, another at school, yet another among his school friends. Seeking guidance he wrote letters: sometimes to youth papers, but mostly to people in real life. Parental authority crumbled. They ceased being looked up to as rock-like paragons; double standards and feet of clay began to be detected.

School is all, they said. When we were your age... We never had it so good... Remember how we lived... Remember how father was like a guest at home? We've sacrificed everything for you. All you have to do is study and get on in life. Become a doctor, lawyer, artist... a SOMEBODY. That was the philosophy bandied about at home.

His real education was acquired among his peer groups. A special kind of party-going began when he was 15 and continued until he graduated from college; his parent's only proviso was that he keep the *right* company. By and large, he stuck to this principle. It was at these parties that the first selections and distinctions were made, purely intuitive at first, later increasingly rationalized, into groups and categories for which the chief criterion was your parents' social and material status. But whatever the income level they were all the same mixture of drink, sex and heart-searching. Mixing with people of the same background and a sense of belonging were even more important than thrashing out the fundamental issues of the world.

If he lived in a hall of residence (as 90 per cent of students of working-class and peasant origin did), it was only rarely that he fraternized with the 'townees'. Youth organization officials, prize students, flaneurs — each such group stuck together. A sociologist found that it was the dullards who were the most eager to hob-nob and the brightest students the ones who held most aloof from them. All sorts of groups sprang up and it was within these sets that couples paired off.

Our 30-year-old belonged to one such. Seldom did he marry outside it. And yet at least some of these social barriers inevitably proved less than watertight: a village boy who had climbed high in the activist world and on his way up acquired the necessary *savoir vivre* could aspire to the hand of a professor's daughter (especially if he had not only his standing — achieved by his own efforts — but also the free flat that went with it to recommend him). A prominent lawyer's daughter could choose the son of a war-hero general, of a plant manager, of an association president (though she'd keep her maiden name). But the 27-year-old scion of a line of doctors courted ostracism and disownment if he considered marrying a nurse he met during his internship (second thoughts were the rule). The children of run-of-the-mill accountants, engineers, lawyers, teachers, tended to in-breed. And if you came from a village or small town you were stuck with your pick of the girls in the students hostels.

Asked about their goals in life freshmen with village or small-town backgrounds named serving the community, qualifying for

a satisfying career, etc.; more mundane considerations came well down the list. A lot of plaster saints, you might think. But by the time they had got through to the fourth year, their priorities were different. Now most of them were interested in getting ahead: a sense of social purpose actuated but a few. This change of attitude was put down to simple adjustment: from naivetè to realism. And in any case their value to society lay in their skills and expertise, and if these paid off in higher earnings, what was wrong with that?

'Gown' could escape the student hostel only by marrying into 'town'. This might be done either for the normal reasons of love, or for ones tainted with a degree of self-interest; it was a way of obtaining permanent residence in cities with strict registration restrictions. Appointment to a junior faculty post (and 21 per cent of these at Warsaw University are filled by students of working-class and peasant origin) made him a good match for a girl from an average urban family, sometjmes his own student, even if it meant living in the university staff quarters for anything up to a dozen years before getting their own flat.

Despite the stock belief, the marriages entered into by my colleagues, following their wild-oats period, were by no means shotgun affairs but the culmination of several years of 'going steady'. Six months after her wedding to a postgraduate sociology student, 27, a 26-year-old girl, now studying towards a Ph. D. in law, told me: 'We'd known each other six years and had long been regarded as man and wife by our friends. Our families got on well. We've had our ups and downs, but we've also got the present of a furnished flat. To be frank we'd grown apart long ago, but one day we came up against the alternative: either break up or marry. We married.' Two years later a divorce was decreed at a function as tactful as the wedding (divorce is frequent among this generation and, as a rule, avoids all raking up of sordid details).

Thus these marriages, which had from force of circumstances to be postponed until after graduation, tended to be the belated legalization of a long-standing relationship.

Maturing biologically two or even four years earlier than young people before the war, but emotionally only very slowly and painfully, this was a generation long incapable of assuming responsibility for themselves. Except that normal, healthy people in their early twenties perhaps crave each other more than marriage. Their parents preferred to turn a blind eye.

The 30-year-old has now completed college. Behind him he already has several momentous decisions: choice of career, choice of where he will live, and choice of person to live with. Now he is faced with another: where to work.

This was a decision he put off as long as he could. So we find him upping sticks for half a year, going abroad for a few months, taking a succession of odd jobs. Or suddenly frequenting student clubs, all in a vain attempt to stop the clock and forget about his passport to the adult world.

But once there was no more playing for time, he was deft at ducking the post which he was supposed — by official direction, by source of grant, etc. — to take up. He much preferred to use whatever connections he had to find something 'better'.

How important that first job was! He came to it with precious little experience and an exasperating student style of life. He smarted at the least criticism, at every put-down. So he tended to keep his own counsel.

Clothes are an outward reflection of the rules of entering adulthood. Before the war a university graduate would immediately don a felt hat, stiff collar and gray suit in order to get into the Oh-So-Grown-up-Club as soon as possible. In contrast, the fetish today is youth: 26-28-year-olds balk at the adult 'paradise', and 40-50-year-olds sport jeans or corduroy pants to disclaim their status, at least after hours. But the reverse is also to be observed: in institutions which are too grand to tolerate trendiness, the young will dress up in sober suits and ties, and see they blend into their surroundings. In other words, make sure of not antagonizing their boss.

But back to the job... How was my colleague doing there? Within two years (1972 to 1974) one in five switched to a new one, usually on their own initiative. The highest rate of turnover was among lawyers, natural scientists, pharmacists, specialists in agriculture and veterinarians; the lowest among teachers and the engineering profession. The proportion of young people actually fired was infinitesimal (0.8 per cent). The basic reason for so many of them throwing up their first jobs was not professional incompatibility. It was the contrast between the reality and what they had expected.

Their complaint was not over earnings, but over personal relations and the sluggish promotion rate. Within two years less than half the group had advanced a single rung up the career ladder. On admission, 60 per cent were given less than 2,000 zlotys a month; two years later almost all were being paid more than 2,000 zlotys, and 40 per cent between 3,000 and 4,000 zlotys a month. Earnings differed from one profession to another, and their growth was disproportionate. Among the lowest-paid were lawyers, accountants, teachers, natural scientists. Among the best were engineers (especially if they wangled themselves int a more lowly technician's or senior foreman's job). In some professions women earned markedly less than men, despite identical qualifications and jobs.

Attitudes to public affairs depended more on where you were an l what you were doing than on family background, early education, reading habits, the orthodoxies you entered college with. If you got a job among people who saw somewhat further than their own interests, you had every chance of becoming zealous and public-spirited. If you landed up in a bog of red-tape where nothing stirred, you would probably think only of looking out for number one.

Where did the young university graduate look for a job? Out of a fairly typical year 10,000 went to work in the educational establishment, 9,000 in industry, a few thousand each in the health service and farming. 800 in culture and the arts. The greatest breakthrough between 1970 and 1973 was in research: from 1,100 to 2,400 jobs offered to prospective scientists.

Careers in the world of learning differed depending on the branch. In the humanities, a Ph. D. degree would require between 6 and 8 years of work on the average, in mathematics and physics a little less, in the engineering profession, 10 or more.

Up to 1972 a research trainee at Warsaw University was paid 1,200 zlotys a month, an assistant lecturer between 1,500 and 1,900 zlotys, a senior assistant lecturer 2,200, and it was abundantly clear to all that they had to earn something on the side. Moonlighting was no help in creative research. After the 1972 spate of salary increases (research trainees now get 2,300, assistant lecturers 2,500, senior assistant lecturers 3,200), young staff became appreciably more active: they attended more seminars, contributed more articles to learned journals, and seemed to have cut down on extra jobs. The academic year which followed brought a reversal of this trend: again there were more requests for permission to take on translations, teaching stints in schools, etc.

At Warsaw University, before you can even get your name on to the waiting list for a flat, you have to have a record of five years' service. The worst hit and most conscious of being disadvantaged are potential staff born outside a university town. Even when they are as gifted as their urban colleagues, they are from the outset facing heavy odds against getting tenure, still more their own place to live in away from home. If they are exceptionally talented and manage to get on the waiting list for flats as well, they will still have to shelve pure scholarship until they make the 30,000-40,000 zlotys for the down payment. In many sciences, above all mathematics and physics, the creative potential of the human mind is known to peak out in the late twenties, the very years which may be spent doing potboiler jobs or commuting from hick towns with no sewage or running water, where coal for heating has to be brought in from the backyard each morning, but where rooms are let at below 1,000 zlotys a month.

A platonic love of science is a thorny road to success. It is a road nevertheless. Perhaps more important for a youngster from a backwoods village is that he can so much as enter university, never mind how he lives there, when before the war he would have been doomed to tending goats for life. Not only enter, but also, if good enough, join the staff. And be eligible for state grants which put him on a par with the offspring of university professors and cabinet ministers.

Polishing a desk. Willy-nilly, many of my graduation year plumped for that. Graduates of law, administration, economics, education, languages, history, sociology, engineering, even the sciences. A personal acquaintance of mine, M.A. in oriental studies, spent some

time as manager of a fish sales outlet. The opportunities in this respect indeed appear to be inexhaustible.

However, my 30-year-old genuinely loathes an office worker's job. It gives him an inferiority complex vis à vis his friends. Moreover, he cannot bear coming to work at a set time, day after day. At first, he feels humiliated having to sign the attendance sheet each morning before it is carted off to the personnel officer. More often than not he looks upon his office job indifferently, as just a stop-over on the road to a career. He feels, perhaps not without justice, that nobody cares what he's doing, as long as it tallies with the statistics for 'persons employed according to their qualifications'.

A political career. It has been written of my generation that they manifested a lot more interest in public life than the present-day twenty-year-olds. However, it tended to veer from total acceptance to total negation, from servilism to nihilism.

Commitment in the mind of the thirty-year-old crystallized in his college years, but only rarely resulted in actually joining purely political organizations (2-3 per cent of the total student body). The few who did early followed the standard passage from a humble function in the Polish Students' Association, to, if all went well, the higher echelons of the Socialist Youth Union. When the college years were over he would go on to a post on a District Council of the Polish Students' Association or a District Committee of the Socialist Youth Union. Both organizations required people with a university education. In the process, often before turning thirty, he would move up from the youth to the adult 'apparatus'.

Among the class of 1965, a sociologist distiguished not only the prize students, but also the 'activists'. The latter mostly had a working-class or peasant family background, were older and determined to pursue a political career even in their college years. On the other hand, the children of active or retired politicians, or other high-ranking government officials, as a rule set their sights on a career in the sciences, the professions, or the arts.

All the Grand Alternatives had been decided while we were still in our prams. The Fundamental Choices had been made for us. We live in a system which it is impossible to reject, because it is equitable, logical, development-oriented. The rub is it wasn't us who were its architects. Hence politics, as a career, interests only a few — which does not imply an ideological vacuum among the rest, only that their commitment tends to be expressed in different, not necessarily articulated forms.

Young politicians are attracted by the opportunity of shaping the future rather than the present. Our 'today' has been handed them on a platter; it is a starting point. They are fascinated by the possibility of creating new vistas for the future even if the vistas only concern the development of the amenities of a city borough. If only they are given an assignment in which they can show their mettle, they will tackle it with zeal and enthusiasm, because of a sense of having

been asked to join the feast. As history would have it, such an invitation was only unmistakably proferred after 1970, which happened to be the moment when the early postwar age-groups were beginning to leave college.

The paths trodden by 30-year-olds vary. For most of them success at work is at least as important as success in their private lives. No wonder, since getting ahead was a precept instilled in them as children, and experience has proved it a sensible one. They want to be useful, to be appreciated by their superiors, to have a say in decision-making.

A technocrat's career. In the 1960s television ran a series of quizz competitions between Warsaw University and Warsaw Polytechnic. The Polytechnic students, decked out in black tophats, were grilled in subjects like Polish literature, history, the arts in general; the University students, sporting boaters, in science. There were red faces on both sides, but more interesting than what the viewers saw were the reactions of the studio audience which was split into two separately seated and by no means jokingly hostile camps.

An engineering student sitting with a girl friend from the 'other side' had a pretty dreadful time: not only was he in for dirty looks and gibes from his neighbours, but he also had to keep his mouth shut during the mutual cat-calling: BOOKWORMS, jeered the Polytechnic students, ROBOTS, hurled back the University side. Towards the close of the 1960s these animosities seemed to peter out, but the technical professions have kept a strong sense of identity and apartness.

As soon as he graduated his job became the young engineer's sole and genuine concern. Even his entertaining is usually confined to colleagues or old college friends who can spend half the night discussing new machinery with bugs in it, stocks that need restocking, creaky organization. That's among his own circle. But he will then go and buttonhole a stranger on a train and regale him for hours with his outfit's success story and its even brighter prospects. And he travels a lot: there's always something to be attended to which is over the heads of the office staff (as he says with pride) and can't be dealt with over the telephone (as he says with irritation).

He has, roughly speaking, two types of career to choose from: either become a top-class specialist and advance fairly quickly salary-wise, but slowly, if at all, promotion-wise, or join the managerial side where he will be in charge of increasingly large numbers of people and lose his engineering skills in the process.

Does this mean that humanist reflection is alien to him and that his conscience becomes numbed? Says a friend of mine, a manager in the distribution network:

'I was born in a country town and I was determined at all costs to stay on in the city after college, so the moment I got my degree I called on the Great White Chief and it worked: I talked him into repaying the grant I had been receiving from the rural trading

network and working in his organization instead. Within two years I was promoted to department head, two years later to manager responsible for several hundred workers and millions of zlotys. Only then did the feeling sink in that my arms were too short, that I was forbidden to do many things which could improve efficiency. I wheedled the Boss into giving me permission to poke my nose into matters on which our turnover depended. Things went swimmingly, but I was also getting to be a pain in the neck: the youngest manager with the best record.'

My engineering peer group is probably the sturdiest ideologically, though its commitment differs from the kind described in 19th-century novels and revolutionary epics. It is specifics which stir them. Their range of endeavour is broad. The effects of their work are measurable. Their careers are more rapid and their circumstances better, so they are not hemmed in by the press of financial worries.

How much does a child cost? The vast majority of educated young couples programme their lives cautiously. The question they ask is not 'are we going to have a child?', but 'can we already afford one?' The answer is yes only if and when they have:

a) graduated from college,
b) acquired a flat of their own,
c) furnished it,
d) both have fully secure prospects.

Having a child earlier, one that is unplanned, spells deterring complications, ranging from sheer physical exhaustion and career standstills (especially among women) to divorce which is, in any case, no solution. In such cases it's the a) category which is best off: their own parents can make things easier by offering room and board and taking care of the baby.

Assuming a steady rise in earnings, when in fact can our subjects afford a baby?

A prudent decision would be to wait until the instalments on the furniture have been paid, ie. about two years. But the young couple could also do with a refrigerator, a radio, TV, a vacuum cleaner, a washing machine, and of course there are always clothes to be bought. Hire purchase eats heavily into their spare disposable income. Provided they count the pennies and get combined annual raises of some 600-900 zlotys per month, they will be able to afford a baby four to five years after the wedding day, ie. when they'll be going on thirty. Between them they will then be earning 8,000-10,000 zlotys a month, will have paid off the HP, and have a nest egg in a savings account. For people who are after all comparatively well-off to defer parenthood and feel financially pressed in the early years of marriage can be seen as an indirect consequence of rising living standards. For there is in effect a growing gap between bare subsistence levels and what is needed to live in a satisfying way. The postwar generation seems to be the first to be making a conscious choice of their own 'social optimum'.

On balance, one's picture of it, despite numerous shadows, augurs well for the future. Asked what there is in life outside making money and a career, 20-year-olds will often say that the most important thing is integrity. This covers elementary honesty, playing fair by others, and at least some moderation in ethically ambiguous situations. They disdain the ability, occasionally observed among their seniors, to swim with the tide. They themselves believe they ought to cling to certain abiding principles and change their views only by force of argument.

But before one can cut any ice in the affairs of the country, challenge orthodoxies and suggest improvements, a degree of independence in life is essential. Yet this is the last of the things our generation acquires in its instalment-plan progress.

To my mind, revolt against dependence on others is the first sign of a true coming of age. It may be manifested in various ways: by refusal to do a job regarded as nonsense, or simply by expressing a different opinion; by standing up to an established authority, by advocating an unpopular idea or sticking up for someone in hot water. I believe that this generation's ideological maturity comes more or less when they realize their rebellion has led to a setback. Why so late? Because you can only rebel against established authorities when you have grown out of the bantamweight category yourself. The only people who stick their necks out are ones who have been helped by parents towards a secure life and so feel solid ground underfoot and idealists who care little about mundane matters. There are some in every generation. They can and they want to give up personal satisfaction in terms of prestige and material rewards in order to see their dreams, their ideals come true. These are the footloose civil engineers, wandering from one construction site to another, the actors deliberately choosing to join out-of-town companies, the graduates of agricultural colleges determined to put run-down state farms back on their feet, university-qualified teachers going to work in elementary village schools. Rising to the challenge of their times, they are eyed with uneasiness by others. Many flee the run-of-the mill stability which they associate with a rat race. Importantly, this is not a flight to nowhere and for no purpose. When these people declare their acceptance of socialism as a matter of course it is because they realize that socialism has given them vast opportunities for being the way they are, working the way they do. It has given them a sense of social purpose.

FAMILY PATTERNS

Magdalena Sokolowska

In Poland there is a striking disproportion between the tremendous changes that have occurred in the roles of men and women in public life and those they play in the home and family. The revolution has transformed relations between social classes but not between members of the family, an area, where change is much slower. While the gainful employment of married women has long become accepted as matter-of-course, rational distribution of household chores has not yet been so socially legitimized. Many husbands and wives are still attached to the traditional models of relationships between spouses, parents and children, to a patriarchal pattern of authority within the family — with its equally traditional division of duties. Yet the socio-economic base, which once provided a sufficient justification for such models, has undergone a radical change. In the new situation, in which the woman is a second breadwinner, a re-casting of the roles of husband-cum-father and wife-cum-mother has become of the essence. There is some evidence for believing that such a development is already taking place in this country.

The fact that women have become the co-providers has radically modified the old definition of 'head of the family'. In the National Census of 1970, the instructions issued to the census-takers specified that 'the head of the family is the earner of the whole or the greater part of the livelihood of a given household. Where there are two persons providing it in equal degree, the one chiefly responsible for its management should be regarded as the head of the family.'

Family Relations as Viewed by the Young

The following question was put to 700 girls of sixteen and seventeen canvassed by the youth journal *Filipinka*: Would you like the attitude of your future husband to be like that of your father to your mother?' More than a half said No.

2.5 Sokolowska, Magdalena, "Family Patterns," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVI, No. 4, April 1973, pp. 16-24

The girls do not accept a family model in which the mother is a 'skivvy', expected to look after the household and the children all by herself. An ideal husband is a father who 'does the cleaning and the washing up, goes for a walk with the children, helps them solve their crossword puzzles, and so on.' An ideal home is one in which all worries are shared and all decisions taken jointly. It seems clear from these answers that the up-coming generation of young women is beginning to absorb a new model of family life based on friendship, comradeship and equal partnership in everything. The views of young men are on the whole similar. The statement made by a 26-year-old arts graduate in a poll conducted by the daily *Życie Warszawy* entitled 'Man and Wife' seems revealing:

'They begin their married lives from the same mark, equal in education, age, jobs, everything. In time he moves ahead, is promoted, gets extra training, goes abroad. She is stuck at home, bears children, does all sorts of chores, although she is still bringing money home. He is on the rise, she on the downgrade. Why? Natural inequality of the sexes? Go on. I don't want to do the dirt on my girl, I don't want her seeking peace of mind, as my mother did, in church or in novels or the cinema. I won't let my wife ever feel victimized on account of being a woman.'

Household Chores

Studies of time budgets conducted in various socialist (and not only socialist) countries invariably reveal that the total number of hours worked by women (both outside and in the home) is higher than that worked by men. As a consequence women have less time to spare for study, cultural activities, sports, social life and various forms of entertainment. From a national survey carried out in Poland in 1964-68 it is evident that as many as 54.5 per cent of all gainfully employed women in towns have no one to help them in the household. The rest are given a hand by their husbands (22.3 per cent); mothers or mothers-in-law (10.7 per cent); older children (4.5 per cent); other members of the family (1.6 per cent); strangers (1.1 per cent); and others (5.3 per cent). Only 0.9 per cent have no household duties. These data show how slow is the process of reorganizing the household by a more rational division of labour within the family, a greater modernization of everyday life and transfer of certain traditional duties to service centres outside the home. The same investigation has

shown that although the woman's financial contribution to the family budget is relatively high (the husband's earnings are seldom more than 600 zlotys higher than the wife's, and 22 per cent of the women earn as much as, or more than their husbands) the greatest part of household duties is still the responsibility of women. In most families the wife does the shopping, cooks the meals, does the washing up and ironing, and above all — in 75 per cent of families — takes exclusive care of the children. When asked what could make it easier for them to fulfil these duties, most women said, better housing.*

Sociologist J. Piotrowski believes that apart from all the external impediments to the rationalization of life in the household, the family itself is markedly unenterprising on this score. No attempts are made, for example, to shift the time of the main meal to the evening (and thus adjust it to the structure of the working day in Poland) or, even when practicable, to give up laundrying at home, etc. The network of services is inadequate, it is true, but so too is the family's readiness to change its habits. What is particularly perplexing is the fact that older children do practically nothing in the way of housework. What is more, despite the unanimous view that boys and girls should be brought up indentically in this respect, the chores, if any, fall on the latter. The most that is expected of a boy is garbage removal, but even this is more often done by mothers or even fathers. Though minor repairs remain the man's chief province, they are beginning to help with the washing up, housecleaning, etc. — although even this is not a matter of relieving their wives but only of 'giving them a hand.'

The younger the married couple the greater the husband's assistance in the home. In many such households it is passé to say 'my housband helps', which has been replaced by phrases like 'my husband participates' or 'shares the reponsibility.' This applies above all to the care and raising of the children, particularly older ones, an area where the father's contribution is growing quickly, and he is playing a far more prominent part in such things as contacts with the child's school, play, exercise, visits to the theatre or cinema.

The findings of this national survey seem to show that women with a more advanced education and an outside job tend on the whole to cope with their household obligations better than ones who are solely 'housewives'. They are likely to display more initiative over

* Jerzy Piotrowski, *Aktywność zawodowa kobiet zamężnych i wynikające z niej potrzeby rodziny*. Warszawa 1969.

rationalizing these duties — largely because they have that much less time in which to squeeze them in.

Changes in the Father's Role

In a set of annonymous essays on 'How I Feel at Home' written by 150 boys and girls aged 12-14 from a Warsaw school a revealing emphasis was placed on 'both parents'. There was also a great deal about their jobs, all of it, as it happens, approving. Only one boy said he'd sooner his mother didn't go out to work. The others took both parents working for granted, their only reservation being a wish that they could get home earlier, less tired and out of sorts and have more time for the family. These children saw no reason why fathers couldn't do many of the household chores equally well. Nor do they associate upbringing exclusively with their mothers; on the contrary, they often place a higher value on their father's help and advice, his contacts with their school etc. This ties in with the 1964-68 survey which revealed that marginally more husbands of working mothers played a positive part in the raising of the children.

The traditional stereotype of the father had him doing little more than providing the family's livelihood and punishing the children. For certain segments of society, 'a good husband and father' still means a man who does not drink or make scenes, and brings home his pay-packet. If for good measure he also helps his wife with odd jobs around the house, he is also a veritable paragon. It is a formula which says little or nothing about his role in the upbringing of the children. In the past, all major decisions affecting them were his as of legal right; today, they are expected to be taken jointly, but instead, they are liable to become the sole domain of the mother. The Soviet sociologist A. G. Kharchev* writes that in many Soviet families there is a total absence of paternal care: the father 'lives in' but takes little or no part in the upbringing of the children (a phenomenon known in Polands as 'dad behind the newspaper'). Kharchev thinks that both parents are essential to the child's proper development; the role of the father and the mother is not identical, he adds, since there can be no doubt about the 'otherness' of the male and the female psyche, but both an exclusively paternal and an exclusively maternal upbringing must be considered incomplete.

The new status of women is freeing man of the stresses, realized or unrealized, inseparable from being the family's sole breadwinner.

* *Brak i semja v SSSR*, Moskwa 1964.

Consequently, there is emerging a new model of the husband and father in which he takes upon himself some of the responsibilities for the upbringing of the young generation — which is socially all to the good. At a time when most of the occupations that impinge on child-rearing are staffed by women the evolution and proper performance of the father's role become a problem of basic social significance. Summing up the results of a poll of fathers, the Catholic weekly Więź wrote:

'Fatherhood as a social role in our age is only now being rewritten by history... An answer is slowly taking shape to the question: is the modern male a family creature? Yes, to the extent that he is up to performing an individualized, creative role as father and sees it as a chance of self-affirmation and a source of new values... The father should not be a "mother's help" in the family, but above all a partner by reason of his different sex, something, in other words, that is incommensurable and irreplaceable in its distinctness and indispensability.'

New Family Patterns

Changes in approach to the roles of husband and wife are quickest in urban families, among men and women with a relatively high standard of education. These transformations will no doubt spread with the levelling of the life-styles of the various sections of the population.

One instance of these processes has been supplied by a study of a group of married couples, living and working in Warsaw, in which both husband and wife are qualified engineers.* They reveal the existence of genuine partnership reflected in a more equitable division of household duties, joint child-rearing shared holidays and entertainments, etc. An important place in their relationships is occupied by 'shop talk' and mutual assistance in their work. None of the wives contemplates the possibility of giving up her job, since they regard a career to be just as much part and parcel of being a woman today as having a family.

A similar picture emerges from a poll conducted by the daily *Życie Warszawy* (1967) in which a large number of the respondents were pairs of academics (a group which has a high status rating in Poland). Here too there was a striking lack of sexual discrimination in the division of the innumerable, time-consuming tasks involved in

* Barbara Łobodzińska, *Małżeństwo w mieście*, Warszawa 1970.

running a household. The way these couples handle chores like washing, cleaning, cooking, shopping, looking after the children etc., affords grounds for guarded optimism that the rigid demarcation between husband and wife will gradually disappear in the future and women's monopoly of nappies and the pots and pans will eventually become a thing of the past.

Less Children

The principal spur to the process of change within the family is the gainful employment of women. For its part the factor chiefly responsible for reducing the family obligations of married women at home and thereby enabling them to pursue a career is a drop in child-bearing. A smaller maternal work-load is a crucial element in dovetailing the demands of the home and employment.

In country as well as town the child-bearing rate is declining, though more pronouncedly in the cities. Large families are disappearing. In 1968, of all women with children under sixteen, 36 per cent had one, 32.8 per cent two, 18 per cent three, and only 13.1 four. During the past fifteen years there has been a considerable decrease in the number of women bearing three or more children — 32.5 per cent in 1968 as compared to 42.4 per cent in 1955. In big cities families of one or two are becoming the rule; and the evidence of all surveys seems to be that two is regarded as the ideal number of children for a family, rural or urban.

There are very few new mothers in the over-35 bracket. By the age of 30, in fact, most women have borne all the children they are likely to have and can look forward to some 40 more years of life, since their average expectation in Poland is now 72.8 years.

Over the last fifteen years natural increase in Poland has been greatly reduced — from 19.5 per thousand in 1955 to 8.5 in 1971. The same is true of the average fertility of women. In 1955, there were 111 births per 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 49, while in 1969 the ratio was only 63. This drop is found in all age groups, but it is most pronounced in the older ones, which means an earlier termination of child-bearing. It is chiefly due to the smaller size of families: there has been an insignificant decline in the number of first births but a considerable one in that of second or third children. Similar trends can be observed in other central and east European countries, and in Europe generally. In Poland it was a relatively sudden devel-

opment, and demographers, doctors, statisticians, planners and social policy-makers are trying to puzzle out what caused so rapid and radical a change and what kind of population policy should be followed in the near and more remote future. The discussion centres on drawing up a family model which would encourage less rigorous control of fertility, in other words on devising an effective pronatalist programme. Most demographers and many journalists are in favour of such a programme, although they differ on points of detail; others are sceptical.

One of the features of debates about the size of families is that they soon extend to the subject of the role of women, with particular reference to their gainful employment. This has been a fiercely vexed issue since certain commentators maintain that the goals of population policy are hard or even impossible to reconcile with professional aspirations — and accordingly call for a restriction of women's employment.

In Poland the gainful employment of women is not the decisive curb on the size of the family. Differences in the fecundity of working and non-working women are insignificant: in a representative sample of 100 working women in towns (beween the ages of 21-47 years) there were 246 children, in a similar sample of non-working women, 257 children.

In western Europe there are basic differences in the influence of education on the number of children. Less education, more children is a pattern that seems to be on the decline; indeed, more and more often a woman with a university degree has two or three children. In central and east European countries such a change has not yet been noted. In a Polish family in which either husband or wife is a graduate the average number of births is 1.5, and there still remains a wide discrepancy in the number of children in each education bracket. There are some grounds for supposing that this situation is beginning to change. For example, a recent study of a representative sample of town dwellers, made by the Chief Statistical Office, has revealed that the lower the standard of education (both among men and women and in all social groups) the greater the reluctance to have a larger number of children. Conversely a wish for more children (in addition to the ones already born) tends to grow with the educational level.

There is a view that a rational population policy should be based on two fundamentals: first, the spontaneous and growing participa-

tion of women in the country's economic life must not be opposed; and second, the living standards of families must be gradually improved.

The first of these premisses implies making the provision of jobs for women one of the aims of employment policy. Cutting down the number of female employees may have advantages for one enterprise but on a national scale is totally undesirable. The greater number of special benefits to which women are entitled makes them seem less worthy of their hire. But expansion of creches and nurseries, development of services and promotion of the production of labour-saving appliances can all help to increase the productivity of women.

The second principle is, above all, a matter of more and better housing. A long-range plan for the development of housing construction, designed to provide a comfortable home for every family, has been recently launched and will, in the first place, improve the situation of young married couples. In addition, to counteract the decrease in the birth-rate, various incentives are provided in the form of family allowances and benefits. In the various socialist countries this system is being steadily expanded.

A sensible population policy aims not so much at raising the birth-rate as such, but at increasing the number of wanted children. In 1956, a law was passed permitting the termination of pregnancy on medical or social grounds. Recently, during the debate on the dwindling natural increase, it came in for criticism in some quarters. However an overwhelming majority of experts — demographers, doctors and journalists — have strongly emphasized its benefits. They regard its introduction as a very important achievement and one of the greatest of social gains. Abortion is not, of course, a good thing in itself and should as far as possible be avoided by means of contraception. 'But,' said Professor B. Górnicki, a well-known pediatrician and chairman of the Family Planning Association, 'I feel that our present regulations concerning the termination of pregnancy are sound ones, and any curtailment of them would mean a step back. I would even say that to do so would be to let down those countries which regard our measures as rational and progressive in the sense of the protection of man.'

To conclude, two more statements which in a way sum up the debate:

J. Piotrowski (sociologist): 'I feel that the measures being taken to increase the population are to be commended insofar as they serve the

happiness of the family. On the other hand, they should not be assessed from the point of view of their impact on fertility — because they are mostly ineffective.'

S. Klonowicz (doctor): 'I do not want anybody to conclude that I see no hope of remedying the present downturn in fertility rates. I believe there is a chance, and it resides in comprehensive economic transformations, a radical improvement in the living standards which would make for ever fuller satisfaction of non-essential wants, in the consistent implementation of the present social policy, in the development of the network of services, and in better housing. It is only then that — in my opinion — the effectiveness of various "incentives" can be increased, it is only in such conditions that one can launch an active pronatalist policy, and it is only then that it will not prove prejudicial to the welfare of women.'

The professional woman in modern Poland

Interview with Halina Lewicka

In a country where intellectual resources were largely left scattered among the ashes of a villainous war, entirely new social structures have replaced the institutions which existed barely more than a generation ago in Poland. To understand the role and function of women in this new society, impact of science on society *interviewed the linguist Halina Lewicka of the University of Warsaw where she teaches Romance linguistics. A specialist in French mediaeval philology, Professor Lewicka is known more especially for her work on the language of the French theatre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Editor of the journal* Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny, *Ms Lewicka also deals with the semantics and syntax of modern French. Her address: Instytut Filologii Romanskiej UW, Obozna 8, Warszawa (Poland).*

Your country was severely affected by the war of 1939-45. In Poland's recovery from the war, have more women than before entered research and teaching at the university level?

Losses were particularly heavy among the intellectual leaders, who were deliberately exterminated. In addition, a large proportion of the 20- to 40-year-old generation perished on active service or in concentration camps. Consequently, at the beginning of the post-war period, education at all levels was staffed mainly by elderly teachers or young people who were inadequately trained. Women played a considerable part in the efforts made to rectify this situation.

First of all, they availed themselves of the ample opportunities offered to them for every form of higher education: full-time studies, evening classes and post-graduate training. A few figures taken from statistical yearbooks show the steadily increasing number of women students (full-time studies only):

	Men	Women	Total
1949/50	74,428	41,104	115,532
1958/59	106,708	50,787	157,465
1968/69	181,237	124,324	305,5 1
1971/72	195,931	151,851	347,7.2

Although domestic duties sometimes prevent women from obtaining their university degrees as quickly as they would wish, the following figures show a very clear increase in the percentage of women having obtained their master's degree or professional diploma:

	Women	Percentage of women	Total
1945/46	904	23.4	3,860
1950/51	8,216	37.8	21,722
1967/68	13,728	38.8	34,423
1970/71	20,357	43.1	47,240

.6 Lewicka, Halina (Interviewed), "The Professional Woman in Modern Poland," Impact of Science on Society, Vol. XXV, No. 2, April-June 1975, pp. 155-158

The part played by women in research has also grown steadily. Shown below is the breakdown in numbers of students having obtained a doctor's degree - corresponding roughly to the graduate level leading to the doctorate - for successive five-year periods:

	Women	Percentage of women	Total
1956/60	419	17.5	2,370
1961/65	2,165	25.6	8,431
1966/70	2,818	27.8	10,123

The breakdown in numbers of students who have obtained the highest doctor's degree award (corresponding roughly to the British D.Sc. or the French *Doctorat d'État*) during the same periods is a follows:

	Women	Percentage of women	Total
1956/60	12	14.6	82
1961/65	455	23.9	1,873
1966/70	444	17.9	2,474
1970	100	20.8	482
1972	107	20.4	518

I have no figures showing the number of women university professors. This no doubt varies according to the faculty. There are more women in the social sciences faculties than in the science departments. In the Institute of Romance Philology where I teach, four of the six lecturers are women. The same applies in the other institutes of philology. Generally speaking women are mostly found in the secondary school teacher-training sections. The number of women in this sector is considerably more than half the total number of students. For example, in 1968/69 of 209,862 secondary school teachers, 162,666 were women. This 'feminine take-over' has, furthermore, already begun at the level of university studies. In 1971/72 there were 7,225 women among the 8,896 students in Polish philology. In modern philology there were 7,595 out of 9,062 students; in biology, 4,050 women out of 4,849 students; in chemistry 3,648 out of 5,507; in mathematics 4,360 out of 7,682; in physics, 2,122 out of 4,970, whereas in law, for example, there were only 6,629 women out of a total number of 14,308 students.

■ Retirement age

There is no discrimination between the sexes when it comes to admissions and appointments, but what about retirement? Can you explain how the retirement system works?

There is no difference in remuneration between men and women. Women, however, are entitled to retire at the age of 60 years, after twenty years' service, and men at 65 years, after twenty-five years' service. In higher education the age-limit for teaching staff, men and women, is 70 years of age. In secondary education women may retire at 55 years and men at 60 while continuing to teach on a half-time basis. In higher education, thanks to the various provisions of the Teachers' Charter, retirement pensions now stand at about 70 per cent of the last salary earned; they are to be gradually increased up to 1980 as are all salaried workers' pensions.

Do you, as professor, see distinguishable or even marked differences of interest between the young women and the young men you teach?

My field of observation is rather restricted since, as you will have noted from the figures quoted above, I deal with a feminine 'clientèle'.

It has been the tradition for most women students to choose literary subjects. During the last few years, linguistics having become fashionable, they have taken up language studies to an increasing extent, to the point that they are not deterred by the use of a system based on logic.

Which make the better students in your field, boys or girls?

There are good students among the boys just as there are among the girls. Although girls are not, on the whole, less gifted, they sometimes have difficulties (motherhood, small children requiring their presence) which prevent them from terminating their studies within the prescribed time.

Some of the other contributors to this issue of* impact *believe that the professional woman is still dealing with a world dominated by

men. In your branch of linguistics, perhaps the women have less reason to believe so. How prominent is the woman linguist in Poland today?

The traditional preponderance of men in certain sectors of professional life means that, notwithstanding the important place which women have already won, they sometimes still suffer from an inferiority complex and feel the need to assert their equality by every possible means. This attitude is reflected, *inter alia*, in language. For although Polish has morphological characteristics to express the feminine of vocation-words (which is not the case in all languages: in English, for example, 'doctress', 'engineeress', 'paintress' or 'chefess' would be regarded as artificial or rather comic) they are used only to qualify subordinate positions. We can say, for instance, *sekretarka*, for an executive secretary (female) but the masculine gender is used for the secretary of a council or committee; *dyrektorka* for a headmistress, but *dyrektor* for a department director. *Profesorka*, woman teacher, is widely used in secondary education, but would be out of place in higher education where a single form, professor, is used for both sexes. This phenomenon, which is purely social, is not peculiar to the Polish language, but it startles us because of the role played by gender in the syntax of that language. Constructions such as *moja minister, moja naczelnik* (Madam Minister, Madam Supervisor), current expressions today, are hardly admissible. The well-known Polish linguist, M. W. Doroszewski, sees in this a trend towards the 'masculinization' of vocation-words and believes that this might lead to a single form indicating the profession, irrespective of sex.

As regards the place of women linguists in Poland today, a few figures provided by the Polish Linguistic Society *Bulletin* are significant in this respect. This society, to which only persons with the publication of works on linguistics to their credit can belong, had fifty-one members in 1949, of whom ten were women. Twenty years later, in 1969, there were already 189 women among its 367 members, thus representing over half its membership. Although not reaching the same proportion, the number of women belonging to the Linguistics Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences rose from four out of thirty-three members in 1970 to seven out of thirty-three in 1972. The number of women members of the Committee of Modern Philology rose, during the same period, from eight out of thirty-one to eleven out of thirty, including two members of the Presidium. This trend will undoubtedly become more marked, in view of women's increased interest in linguistics.

■ A change is coming about

Why, in your opinion, are there not many more young women entering the sciences, mathematics and engineering?

This may be a survival of old social prejudices which had it that women were intended above all for domestic, artistic or literary activities. But in other spheres, in Poland at least, a change seems to be coming about. The proportion of women students today in the higher technical schools – full-time studies only – exceeds 25 per cent and in the faculties of mathematics and natural sciences combined, reaches almost 60 per cent. Mathematics and the various branches of engineering are, furthermore, penetrating more and more into the area of social sciences, which makes the separation artificial.

Since more than 50 per cent of most societies is female, do you anticipate that women will gradually become more numerous in the roles traditionally those of men: national government, the liberal professions (outside medicine, accounting, law and the courts), skilled and semi-skilled technical labour and the like?

From all that I have just said about the status of women in Poland and from what we know of other countries, where women are heads of State, ministers, ambassadors, corporate executives, barristers, legal experts, architects and town planners, it looks as if the social 'ascent' of women is an irreversible trend. Sooner or later, and depending upon national political and economic systems, this process should lead to the balanced distribution of men and women at all professional levels.

Outside of your own immediate professional responsibilities, do you take an active part in

...ey organizations clearly feminine in character (such as a national federation of women)?

No, I am not a member of any women's organization and do not deal specially with women's problems. It is probably by pure chance (my being in Paris at the time of your survey) that I am able to reply to your questions today.

Do you foresee the day when men will divide with women the tasks to be accomplished 'at home' as well as those 'at work'

By the force of circumstances – the increasing involvement of women in professional activities – men will be obliged, whether they like it or not, to participate in domestic chores. In Poland a few years ago, an educational campaign along these lines was launched by the League of Women with the slogan 'Come on, Jack, give a hand in the kitchen!'. I don't think that this campaign was very effective. But progress has been made, at least in intellectual circles with which I am most familiar; men are being called on to help more and more.

MORALS AND EDUCATION

Mikołaj Kozakiewicz

The postwar years have all over Europe witnessed widesp ead economic, cultural and political change. The new pattern of education and mores evolution connected with sexual, maritol and family life, which is the subject of this article, is only an offshoot of these far wider transformations and cannot be regarded as a separate phenomenon. Nor has it been the revolutionary 'sexplosion' sensationalized by the press. On the contrary, it must be treated as a certain stage in the long evolution of mores, whose basic components can be traced in the empirical research carried out in several European countries at the beginning of the century (1903, in Poland, 1900, in Denmark, Sweden etc.). In some cases (H. Preben's studies in Denmark) it even proved possible to present a detailed picture of the state of morals since the 18th century, which turned out to be much closer to contemporary trends than is popularly believed. After all, if, as parish registers revealed, some 30-35 per cent of women in 18th-century Denmark were pregnant even before they were betrothed, and 50 per cent in the villages, 25 per cent of bourgeois and 20 per cent of noble background when they were married (Hansen), this is not far different from the same country's figure of 49 per cent in the 1930s (Auken). What differences there are seem to be due more to progress in contraceptive techniques than the strictness or laxity of moral standards. If the average proportion of 'shot-gun weddings' is now reckoned in many countries (including Poland) to be between 25 and 35 per cent, it seems proof enough of the situation being better, not worse, than fifty or two hundred years ago, though this does not mean a decrease in pre-marital sex, since we know that in all countries it is on the increase. The first Polish inquiries into the sex lives of Warsaw students, concluded in 1903-1905 (Moszczeńska, Łazowski, Siwicki) found that 67-84 per cent of the males had begun having intercourse at school or university, which is a fractionally higher proportion even than that recorded today (though this may be connected with the different social background of contemporary students). The only basic change has been in who these first sexual experiences are with: chiefly maidservants and prostitutes in 1905, whereas nowadays they come solely from peer groups.

It is therefore important to get it clear from the start that, despite appearances, there is much more tradition and continuity in this field than headline-worthy upheaval. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to maintain that nothing has altered at all.

First and foremost, certain social realities have changed adding a massive spur to processes once merely an undercurrent in sexual mores. Thus:

- Marriage, though it has never been an absolutely permanent institution, has nowadays become very insecure and the growing divorce rates in all countries show that people have assumed a right to more than one marriage (though, despite pessimistic forecasts, they have not rejected it as an institution);
- Though it has never been the case that all would-be couples reach the altar in a state of virginity, today premarital sex has become the rule and, in contrast to the past, not necessarily with future husbands or wives;
- Though they have always tried to control excessive procreation, using all sorts of contraceptive methods, not excluding illegal abortion, women no longer regard such practices as blameworthy or shameful; on the contrary, birth control is now believed to be a proof of responsibility for the consequences of sexual life, while abortion is being legalized in a growing number of countries (the latest being the GDR, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark);
- There have always been illegitimate births and unmarried mothers bringing up children on their own, but they used to be treated as a source of scandal and were socially and legally victimized. If every sixth American now grows up in a singleparent family and every eighth Swede is born illegitimate (in the traditional meaning of the word) it is not only because of the increasing rate of divorces or of more women being deceived by men but also because (and this is the novelty) women are now more inclined to claim a moral right to have children without getting married;
- Though there have always been homosexuals, they had to hide from social discrimination and legal persecution. Today they can

2.7 Kozakiewicz, Mikolaj, "Morals and Education," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, May 1975, pp. 16-24

not only live openly, but are even organizing in many countries (Holland, USA, Canda) and making representations to national and international organizations for equal rights and full emancipation.

In writing this, I am passing no judgements, but merely stating indubitable facts which indicate that although the present pattern of mores is essentially a continuation of a 200-year-old European tradition, there have been changes of degree of such scale and intensity that they amount in effect to changes of kind, a qualitatively new situation having emerged from the accumulation and condensation of features long present in European culture.

It should also be emphasized that the differences between particular countries are chiefly a matter of how far they have advanced, since the basic trends are similar, if not identical, everywhere. Whether they have been proceeding at a faster or slower pace is a question of differences in levels of economic development, in the institutional regulators springing from their systems and, last but not least, in cultural traditions...

Since this qualitatively new stage in the evolution of sexual, marital and family mores has given birth to a number of headaches (to mention only the increases in pregnancies and veneral diseases among minors, the breakdown of marriages, neuroses, deviations, etc) and placed certain traditionally sacrosanct moral standards and canons at risk, another mark of our times is a mounting tide of interest in sex education and the grooming of youth for marital and parental roles.

Here, too, there is an ambivalence similar to that found in the field of practical morals just discussed. On the one hand there is more or less universal recognition of the indispensability of education (which is part of a general trend in civilization); on the other, the way in which this is put into practice varies very markedly from country to country (which springs from difference in culture and history).*

In five of these 17 countries (Denmark, Sweden, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Norway) sex education

* My data comes from a study made in seventeen countries in 1973 under the auspices of the International Planned Parenthood Federation — Europe. Cf. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Norman Rea: A Survey on the Status of Sex Education in European Member Countries, London 1974, IPPF — Europe.

is now compulsory and a standard part of elementary and secondary school curricula. In two of them (Poland and Yugoslavia) it is compulsory in some areas and optional in others. Moreover, a special subject (optional for the time being) 'Preparation for marriage, family life and interhuman communication' has been introduced in Poland and Finland. In France sex education obtained legal approval in 1973, but is still at a preliminary stage. In Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy and Holland it has been left to the discretion of school principals and teachers who, if positive enough, have started classes, but not much is being done in other schools. Finally, there are three countries (Italy, Portugal, Turkey) where sex education has failed to make any headway and, though not banned, tends to be regarded as unsuitable and corrupting and hence is rarely practised.

It is significant that in almost all these countries, regardless of how much sex education is actually provided, the attitude of the ministries of education has been described as sympathetic and concerned, only in the case of Belgium, France and Italy being called merely 'tolerant'. There must, therefore, be some external explanation of why it is that, despite school authorities' overwhelming commitment to sex education and growing awareness of the necessity of early guidance in parental and family roles, there can still be found such considerable differences in what is actually done in practice.

The reasons again seem to be manifold. Among the most interesting and influential seems to be the kind of religion permeating a given culture. Not for nothing has the slowest rate of progress in this field been recorded by such Catholic countries as Italy, France, Belgium, Portugal and Luxemburg, while the most advanced are Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the two Germanys with their more liberal Protestant traditions. The main point here is not the Catholic church's familiar distrust of sex but the political pressure it exerts, whether directly or indirectly, on governments and hence on ministries of education. After all, there is a heavy Catholic streak in the Polish cultural heritage, yet the principle of separation of State and Church and the wholly secular orientation of government have, on the evidence of the study referred to, made Poland one of the frontrunners in sex education. Certainly, the Church's influence bears different fruit in different countries ranging from the extreme case of Portugal, where the 1973 study found that even university anatomy textbooks amputate the sexual organs, to Italy, where sporadic courses propagate various outdated and discarded views and France, where

the subject is simply avoided in the schools but the field left clear for all sorts of theories to be promoted in the mass media.

These religious incubi are compounded by the additional complication that, as found by the aforementioned inquiry, most European countries are wedded to not one, but at least three basically different types of sex education. They can be defined here as:

1) official education — openly or tacitly accepted by the ministry of education and provided to one extent or another in the schools;

2) reformist education — usually associated with progressive social organizations (concerned, for instance, with family planning);

3) popular education — the way in which the family is brought up.

It is, however, the latter which tends to be the most conservative and repressive, and least disposed towards liberalization of sex. The reformist is usually the most progressive and radical while the official, though only a little more avant-garde than the popular, is much less radical than the reformist radicalism. Thus, the difference lies not only in the way individual governments present certain sex questions but also in the simultaneous presence in one country of three sometimes entirely different programmes. Take France, for instance, where traditional family education forbids premarital intercourse and permits sexual activity to begin only after marriage, school education leaves this subject unmentioned and it is only groups and organizations of a reformist spirit which accept premarital sex provided it is decided upon with full responsibility for the possible consequences.

Until 1970 the situation in Poland was similar although a modern approach to pre-marital sex had come to be adopted in official education with certain qualifications (responsibility, love etc.). Italian schools do not even mention the subject, but the prevalent view is the traditional one that premarital intercourse is wrong, and it is accepted only by certain reforming groups provided there is love and the partners are sufficiently mature. All of this of course impedes the framing of a unified educational programme in each country, since even mildly liberal proposals encounter opposition from two quarters: the conservatives, for whom they are intolerably radical and the reformists for whom they are not progressive enough. This may help to explain why even in countries where every other sector of education is centrally programmed (which is the case in the majority of the countries in question) sex is the only domain still left to the initiative of teachers and principals, who have also to face the music should there be any outcry.

This is no doubt also the reason why the aforementioned special subjects introduced by Poland and Finland were not at once made compulsory, but given a test run only in schools which volunteered their cooperation (some 500 secondary schools in Poland in 1975). However, study showed that there was one European country (Sweden), in which official education was even more radical than the reformists, let alone the family.

The differences in sex education in European countries (for all the theoretical recognition of its necessity) boil down to: a) the scope of programmes (in schools and outside); b) the spheres omitted; c) the presentation of certain aspects of sexual life; d) the general frame of reference. Among the matters most often skirted are: contraception (ten out of the 17 countries), venereal diseases (seven), masturbation (nine), wet dreams (nine), homosexualism (ten), other sexual deviations (14) and pornography (11). These are all things very seldom, if ever, discussed at school, though they are clearly intimately connected with the sex life of the young and knowledge of them is essential to their development and experience. The schools prefer to stick to such purely biological matters as menstruation, the male and female sex organs, the mechanics of fertilization, pregnancy and birth. On the other hand, it is a fact that in most of the countries where the schools leave particularly many blank spaces (France, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg) the omissions tend to be made good by extracurricular guidance facilities and numerous publications sponsored by reforming groups. The skimpiest instruction is provided in Portugal, Turkey, France, Luxemburg and Belgium but widespread counselling of a high standard is available in France, Belgium and Italy, chiefly from voluntary and youth organizations, family planning associations, etc.

No less interesting are the differences, again as of 1974, in the approach (especially in moral terms) to the same aspects of sexual life. Even ones which might have seemed long classfied by science were variously judged. Thus, for instance, masturbation, though it has been proved to be a physiological phenomenon of adolescence and so medically unobjectionable, is still believed to be 'harmful' in the official education of Luxemburg and Portugal and condemned — though not so severely and only on psychological or character-training grounds — in other countries (Austria, Great Britain, GDR and recently in Holland and Poland). Only in Scandinavia (Finland,

Sweden, Denmark) is it simply and generally regarded as harmless.

Similar contrasts can be observed in the attitude to homosexuals. Ony one country (Sweden) officially admits it is as legitimate a method of sexual fulfilment as heterosexualism. In Luxemburg, Portugal and Jugoslavia it is denounced as morally evil and a sign of human degradation and in Austria, Great Britain, Denmark and Norway as a mental disease (though not morally reprehensible). In the remainder, though it is seen neither as morally evil nor as a mental disease, it is still considered a philogenetic complication which as such should be prevented and subject to medical treatment. Is this not proof enough that educationists in different countries are guided more by philosophical and moral convictions than by objective knowledge about homosexualism which should be equally complete in all these cases? It could be answered, however, that homosexualism is so small a problem quantitatively that it cannot be a touchstone of the accent in education of a given country.

Let us, therefore, consider the question of contraception since this impinges on everyone and is particularly important as far as young people are concerned especially in view of the prevalence of premarital sex and the growing number of unexpected pregnancies. In six of the countries there is no mention of this subject in school. In Luxemburg and Portugal it has simply been ruled out as an unsavoury topic and one not even to be so much as hinted at. In Great Britain, Norway, and Poland (till 1973), it was acknowledged to be very important, but nevertheless something youth should learn about for themselves, since it was too 'embarassing' to be dealt with at school.

This variety of approaches (only the reformers taking in every country a similar, progressive view of the indispensability of instruction in contraception) is of course partly due to cultural traditions. Sex education cannot therefore be imported ready-made, but must be a local product adapted to (though at least one step ahead of) the nation's mentality. But it is also affected by current educational trends, which are closely linked with the ideology and the bearings of social and population policy.

Despite what is claimed by the more metaphysically minded devotees, sex education is not an isolated task in personal development but an integral part of upbringing as a whole, and preparation for sexual, married and family life is only one element of preparation

for life in general. The view taken of, and amount of attention given to, particular aspects of sex will vary depending on the personality and life ideal espoused by a given country's principles of education. It is obvious that ones with a pronatalist social policy will be liable to gloss over contraception and birth control and try to encourage people to have children, while those which regard secure and healthy families as a cornerstone of social development and welfare will be less concerned with the problems of premarital sex and put the emphasis on marriage and the home in which sex plays an important but not all-important role. Such an outlook was found in the GDR, FRG, Finland, Poland and France and is also evident in the socialist countries (Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia) which were not included in the study.

State schools in every country will follow the course that seems most likely to prepare people to tackle important social tasks. There can be no argument with this. It only arises when such unquestionably vital objectives (dictated by a state's ideology as well as other considerations) are used to justify the curtailment of the individual's right to shape his sexual, married and family life according to own informed lights. If a country intent on clamping down on permissiveness and wedded to a pronatalist policy bans the sale and propagation of contraceptive devices, refuses to allow abortion even on medical grounds (as was the case in Portugal till the recent revolution) or forbids divorce (until recently in Italy), the result is a fundamental breach of human rights. Similarly, if an ingrained hostility to homosexualism means not only moral ostracism, but also liability to prosecution (as, until recently in the FRG and Great Britain), this is interference by the state in private lives far from the 20th-century spirit.

By and large, the attitude of education in European schools to the current (and universal) evolution of sexual mores falls into three rough categories: 1. basically anti-change and restrictive (3-4 countries, mostly with a Latin cultural background); 2. unqualified (or almost so) acceptance of the trends or even radical anticipation of their further course (2-3 Scandinavian countries); 3. guardedly pro- (the remainder) and selective in their commitment to only certain changes and seeking the prevention or containment of others (undesirable for ideological, moral or social reasons).

What is significant is that both the permissive and restrictive programmes as well as those professing a golden mean are subject to

constant evolution, which in the countries traditionally anti-sex is revealed in the emergence of reformist currents, the formation of organizations and groups cautiously advocating more modern forms of social control over sex and marriage. In the most 'permissive' countries there has been a certain swing from a purely technical approach to sex towards recognition of its more humane values. Finally, the middle-of-the-roaders' (and this includes Poland) are gradually modifying traditional views on the basis of scientific evidence.

This movement, though it operates at various levels and orbits makes it possible to predict a uniform European sex education free of both the restrictive plethora of past taboos and the absolutely permissive illusions of the present to come in some ten odd years which seems more likely in the contemporary atmosphere of growing international cooperation and exchange of ideas. Distinct discrepancies and contrasts between various programmes of education employed at the same time in many countries are due to vanish, though the different national features conditioned by individual systems and cultural heritage can not be expected to disappear in the anticipated future.

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

Adam Sarapata

The findings of the first studies in Poland * on the attitude toward social space measured by prestige, material benefit, and job security criteria evoked large interest as well as some critical and prognostic comments.

The main findings of the 1958 studies on a sample population of Warsaw can be summed up as follows:

— the idea of prestige hierarchy, although the term itself was commonly avoided by the Warsaw respondents, stood clearly in their minds; a five-step scale (very high, high, medium, low and very low prestige) provided a top rating of 4.8 (university professor) and the lowest one of 1.9 (unskilled farm hand in a state farm);

— the Warsaw respondents were also aware of substantial differentiation within material benefits which they thought the representatives of the evaluated occupations were expected to enjoy; the cabinet minister got the highest rating of 4.7 and the office cleaning woman the lowest one of 1.3 in the five-step material benefit hierarchy scale;

— the majority of the evaluated occupations were placed within the entirely secure and secure job categories; workers of general administration such as an office secretary, middle-rank public official, shopkeeper, shop assistant, office cleaning woman, and unskilled construction worker all got the lowest ratings here;

To sum up the findings of the Warsaw studies and to supplement them with the findings of others one may state:

— substantial changes in job status and prestige have taken place in Poland in the last 30 years;

— besides great similarities between the Warsaw prestige hierarchy and those of capitalist countries (concurrence coefficient over 0.8), it is worthwhile to mention essential differences as exhibited in the

* See Adam Sarapata, 'Social Mobility', *Polish Perspectives*, January 1966.

2.8 Sarapata, Adam, "Occupational Prestige," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January 1976, pp. 21-28

low ratings of the Warsaw prestige hierarchy findings concerning the representatives of private business and the higher placing of skilled workers in comparison with clerks;

— the rating distribution of the Warsaw prestige hierarchy proves the existence of controversies over some occupations; they are much greater here than in capitalist countries; the controversies, which I would like to call systemic and ideological, became particularly evident in the case of such occupations as those of shopkeeper, craftsman or priest; they prove the existence of revaluation processes concerning some assessments;

— both Warsaw studies and those carried out in other environments have indicated that benefits and private ownership of the means of production are not strong correlates (and possibly the sources) of occupational prestige in Poland; education and qualifications turned out to be the basic correlates and possibly the sources of prestige;

— the higher rating of skilled workers in comparison with clerks made it necessary to rethink the traditional criteria of social space, particularly the distinction between manual and non-manual workers so widely used in descriptions of social mobility processes;

— prestige as a research and description category is greatly deficient, so its value and application should be reconsidered.

Fifteen years have passed since the first Polish studies on social space were conducted. It seems a long and fruitful enough period in research to try to verify the critical and prognostic comments and to share our own remarks.

The stability of occupational prestige hierarchy noted in the last fifteen years has undermined both the critical comments and the offered prognoses. The Polish prestige hierarchy, assuming that prestige has the same meaning in the compared countries, has not tended to resemble that of capitalist countries. The prestige of skilled workers has not decreased, neither has increased the prestige of, say, a priest.

Some western sociologists claim that socialization of the means of production and the impact of socialist ideology have undoubtedly an influence on the changes in the occupational structure of socialist countries as well as on changes in the prestige of some occupations. However, these changes, they think, have not led up to the appearance and existence of some more essential differences in social hierarchies of socialist and capitalist countries.

The higher rating of skilled workers in the socialist prestige hierarchy in comparison with a large part of white-collar workers, is, as

I have mentioned, one of the differences which can and should be considered essential.

I will disregard other basic differences such as non-inclusion of the private-owner category and will take advantage of other examples that show the structure and social dimension differences.

American studies on occupational prestige conducted in 1947 and 1963 indicate that the prestige ladder is of a similar length: the prestige ratings fall within 33 and 96 for 1947, and between 34 and 96 for 1963. However, Polish research shows that the occupational prestige hierarchy is shorter than the compared American one, and that, in keeping with American sociologists' assumptions, would mean that Polish society is more egalitarian than American society along the dimensions spoken of before. Moreover, the Polish studies prove that the occupational prestige hierarchy is growing shorter: this would support the claim that the structure of Polish society is basically different.

OPINIONS ON INCOME, PRESTIGE AND JUST REMUNERATION

Occupation or position rated	Income in 1958	Social prestige 1958	Suggested reward 1959	Income 1963
Cabinet minister	1	5	2	2
Physician	2	2	3	3
Craftsman, private workshop owner (locksmith)	3	10	10	6
University professor	4	1	1	1
Priest	5	6	12	4
Mechanical engineer	6	4	4	5
Turner	7	8	7	9
Army captain	8	11	6	7
Farmer with average farm	9	9	11	11
Salesman	10	13	14	12
Policeman	11	12	9	8
Elementary-school teacher	12	3	5	10
Unskilled construction worker	13	14	15	13
Nurse	14	7	8	16
Farm hand in state farm	15	18	13	14
Cleaning woman	16	15	16	15

The table shows that four occupations were placed in the material benefit hierarchy in accord with the sense of justice. They were those of the turner, cleaning woman, cabinet minister, and physician. The concurrence, however, concerns only the sequence, not the level of

reward. Here the respondents came up with postulates to raise the earnings of all the above mentioned occupations.

On the other hand the occupations of the craftsman and priest were considered 'overpaid'.

The following occupations were considered 'underpaid': the elementary-shool teacher, nurse, university professor, mechanical engineer, professional army officer, and policeman.

The preliminary findings of the nationwide studies held in Poland in 1973 have proved that there have been shifts according to the social justice feeling in some important social hierarchies. One could say that a period of hierarchy fluctuation (decomposition of occupations within the esssential social dimensions) is followed by a process of recomposition. Although some discrepancies still occur, they are much smaller in comparison with the discrepancies of the first studies conducted in 1958 and 1959.

Despite the claims of some western sociologists and political scientists, the social disapproval of private business (non-rural) has not disappeared. The merchant and self-employed craftsman (both well-off!) have continued to get rather low ratings in the social respect hierarchy.

Occupational prestige is commonly to be a measure of social space. Occupational prestige ratings (or occupational category prestige ratings) are considered steps of the social ladder which promotion, degradation, as well as individual and class horizontal shifts are expected to move. The prestige of the occupation one performs is a measure of 'social prominence' and a measure of the social road covered.

Prestige as a measure of social space and the division into two categories of manual and non-manual workers have not only numerous, more or less ardent proponents, but also their opponents and sceptics.

The opponents claim that the prestige category undergoes a process of degradation in contemporary society, that various ratings of social respect (based on race, birth, ethnic origin, age, sex, religion, etc.) have lost their previous significance. They maintain that there has been a crisis of respect, that the boundaries and degrees of respect have been obliterated, that prestige has been removed from formal positions and social patterns into the sphere of emotion (sympathy, antipathy). Some even assert that respect criteria are not sharply and clearly seen by average people, that they are not clear and distinct for

research workers, analysts, and practitioners in the field of social respect.

The question still remains whether prestige is an efficient measure of social space, a framework of social mobility.

My answer is positive — as long as people see it as a composite and clear investment and reward measure linked with the performance of given jobs, as long as it is an exponent of these performers' access to socially esteemed goods, as long as there are relatively sharp social images of the standard-of-life levels, as long as ceremony and etiquette persist in the society.

My answer is positive — as long as people see it as a composite and traditional sources of income and prestige have been destroyed, channels of social mobility have rapidly been expanded, human relations have been democratized, rewards are distributed in other ways, prestige has changed its meaning and ceased to be a composite index. It has diminished its value as a useful measure in describing social mobility processes.

Polish studies have proved that a large part of the people are reluctant to use occupational prestige category, that the respondents are more eager to apply it when they are not intimately familiar with a given occupation and picture it in a kind of mysterious way (ie., university professor, cabinet minister). When the occupation being evaluated is more familiar to them, they are not too much inclined to express their opinions on it or on people doing this occupation. (They maintain that 'it depends on the man', or 'it is not the occupation that is important, but the man').

In many other societies the occupations highly rated in our country (eg., that of the coal-miner) or gaining some even higher percentages of favourable ratings are very low in the prestige hierarchy, almost at its very bottom. In the Japanese prestige hierarchy the coal-miner got very low ratings, and in the American one low ratings. We can draw the following hypotheses from these data:

Hypothesis 1 (questioning prestige value as a social space measure): Polish people (in general or a large percentage) highly regard the occupations which are considered extremely useful for the society. Their prestige stems from the conviction of their particularly high usefulness and onerousness of performance. Among others this includes the occupations of the miner, sewage worker and teacher.

Hypothesis 2: In Poland (and probably in other socialist societies) prestige has a different meaning than in the capitalist countries.

Prestige in the United States in comparison with prestige in Poland means, to a large degree, what is attractive rather than what is socially useful, what is attractive for an individual rather than what is valuable for the society. The American prestige hierarchy is more of a promotion or success ladder than the Polish one. These differences in prestige meaning undermine the up-till-now ways of comparing the findings.

In the United States prestige appears to be more of a reward category than an investment one, while prestige in Poland is much more an investment category. In Poland people highly respect the usefulness of an occupation, onerousness of work conditions, responsibility and danger concerned with its performance, while in the United States income, job security, and promotion prospects are more highly rated.

If this be the case, then prestige in the United States (and perhaps in other capitalist countries) is an indicator of the position in the synthetic ladder. Each higher place in the prestige hierarchy means better social status which it pays to strive for and be promoted to.

In Poland a higher place in the prestige hierarchy does not necessarily mean a position worthwhile to strive for. At the same time a lower place in the hierarchy does not always mean a position to be looked down on. So what is prestige in Poland? I suppose that in many cases prestige in Poland is a confirmation of services rendered to society and not everybody seems to enjoy being a self-effacing saint.

Prestige in Poland does not seem to be a too efficient indicator of a totally high or low position, a useful measure for studying social mobility processes. As I see it, prestige in Poland is to a large extent a grade given to people of a given occupation for their work contribution, for the quality of their work. Hence, in contradiction to the American prestige hierarchy there is a higher percentage of people in Poland who give low ratings to the priest, plant manager, cabinet minister, etc. These unfavourable ratings show that the work of the representatives of these occupations comes under harsh criticism. The low prestige of these occupations, once highly esteemed, also marks the crisis of the traditional meaning of prestige. Prestige now does not mean (to such a degree) benefits and prizes, but contribution and investment.

The limited value of occupational prestige as a criterion of position in social structure as well as other objections concerning the use of this term by respondents and polling research workers forced me to

look round for a more efficient question that would elicit better answers to the following: What is the position hierarchy from the point of view of attractiveness?

I am inclined to claim, owing to the preliminary analysis of the 1973 findings, that the achievement criterion is a more efficient measure for social space and social mobility process description than that of prestige. Prestige provides information on prestige space and to a large extent on the value of work of the given occupational representatives. However, at least under Polish circumstances, it is not an efficient total measure of what one has or his achievement and individual promotion. The achievement criterion seems to meet these goals much better.

While using the achievement criterion, however, one has to remember that it does not express only what one has, but how much he has achieved. The social ratings of achievement take into consideration the starting point, the road (effort and investment) and the point of arrival. These remarks are an initial attempt to approach the measurement of social space and social mobility in a different way. It obviously presupposes further discussion and research in depth. Nor does the proposed criterion mean that it can provide a full description of social differentiation, social space, social structure and the processes of social mobility. It is only one of many aspects of social disparities and mobility.

EDUCATION AND ASPIRATIONS

Irena Nowakowska

It has become a truism to say that the standards of education are crucial to socio-economic development. It is, however, as well to remember that this is more than a matter of assuring the high level of technology which is its principal fuel.

Studies of the economics of education have shown beyond all doubt that the more schooling an employee has received the greater is the productivity and quality of his work, which means a corresponding increment in national income.

Let us now look at educational standards in Poland today. Our data is drawn from the National Census of December 1970* and a comparison with the returns of the previous one in 1960 will show the changes that have taken place in the seventies.

Population over 15

according to standard of education (%)

Year Sex	Total*	Higher	Post-secondary, incomplete higher, secondary	Vocational, incomplete secondary	Elementary	Incomplete elementary and none
1960 total	20,004,229	2.1	10.2	4.6	37.9	45.2
men	9,260,396	3.1	10.7	6.4	37.0	42.2
women	10,743,833	1.2	9.8	2.9	38.4	47.3
1970 total	24,014,974	2.7	13.4	14.5	44.9	24.5
men	11,444,420	3.7	12.6	18.2	43.7	21.8
women	12,570,374	1.8	14.0	10.9	45.8	27.2

*Exclusive of persons with unidentified education

* National Census, 8 December 1970: Population, Vol. 23: Demographic and Occupational Structure, Central Statistical Office, Warsaw 1972. All figures in this article come from official statistics and my own computations.

-2.9 Nowakowska, Irena, "Education and Aspirations," Polish Perspectives, Vol. VIII, No. 9, September 1974, pp. 34-39

As can be seen, the decade witnessed an intensification of the process of education, especially marked on its lower rungs. The proportion of persons without an elementary education was all but halved, while above the elementary level the percentage who had completed a vocational school or had attended some secondary education rose from 4.6 per cent in 1960 to 14.5 in 1970. A comparison of standards according to age and sex shows even more clearly the degree to which education has spread in the postwar period. The percentage of university graduates is almost four times as great in the 25-29 age bracket as among the over-65s; ten times as many have incomplete higher or post-secondary education and three times as many are secondary-school leavers. In the youngest age group, 26.4 per cent have been educated up to at least secondary level; in the oldest, 7.3 per cent. Illiteracy in the former amounts to 0.2 per cent, as against 9.5 per cent among the latter (plus 3.7 per cent semi-illiterates). Elementary education was not completed by 4 per cent of the youngest, but by 32.6 per cent of the oldest, rising to 42.9 per cent if we add a group classified as 'self-taught' in the census, meaning people who have never attended school but are able to at least read and write.

Enormous changes have occured in the sex structure. In the youngest age group there are as many women graduates as men, whereas the ratio in the oldest bracket is over 4 : 1. Another striking feature is that the proportion of females in the youngest age group who have completed a post-secondary school is almost 2.5 times as large as among males and 4 per cent higher in the case of secondary education. As a result in this age group the proportion of women with at least secondary education is 29.2 per cent as against 23.7 per cent for men, among whom the most frequent standard of education (apart of course from elementary which is compulsory) is vocational, which is lower than secondary; among the women it is full secondary. The percentage of men with a vocational education is almost twice as great as women.

The huge advance in women's education is best indicated by a comparison of the different age groups with the lowest standards. Among the oldest 16.7 per cent of women are illiterates or semi-illiterates and 11.4 per cent are 'self-taught', which means that 28.1 per cent of women over 65 never went to school at all. Among men in this age group 7.5 per cent are illiterates or semi-illiterates and 8.5 per cent 'self-taught', making a total of 16 per cent without any formal education. In the youngest age group illiteracy is a fraction of 1 per cent,

equally divided between the sexes, and is probably to be chiefly found among the mentally retarded.

Standards of education and their distribution are the cumulative effect of a multitude of factors. Though universal secondary education is now not far around the corner in Poland, in this article I shall confine myself to the situation as it is now.

After completing an elementary education, which is compulsory, children have the option of staying on at school or leaving. Those who continue have a variety of levels and types to choose from. In most cases the choice will be crucial to their adult lives. Though a secondary education certificate is qualification for seeking admission to any university department, the majority of children who have attended a vocational school already have a career mapped out and most of the candidates (over 70 per cent) for entrance are drawn from leavers of general secondary schools.

Towards the end of 1970 I embarked on a survey of the factors governing choice of secondary school in Warsaw for the Philosophy and Sociology Institute at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The subjects were a 500-person representative sample of children who had left elementary school in 1968 and thus were in their third year of secondary school. Interviews were held with them and their parents to ascertain the motives which had led them to choose the particular post-elementary school they were attending and to discover their future aspirations.

Warsaw is a specific area for such a study since almost half elementary school leavers continue their education and have the country's widest range of educational options. Standards of education are also the highest. Of the over-15 population 12.1 per cent are graduates, compared with 2.7 per cent for the whole country and 4.7 per cent in the cities. In this respect Warsaw is followed by Cracow (9.7 per cent), Poznań and Wrocław (7.6) and Łódź (4.9). A secondary education has been completed by 42.7 per cent of the Warsaw population. It is a 'white-collar' city: of the 642,069 persons employed in the public sector, 369,652 are in non-manual occupations. It is reasonable to suppose that in a city with such a structure the educational aspirations of the younger generation will be higher than elsewhere.

Whereas any national survey of selection mechanisms between the

elementary and secondary stage must make allowance for a whole mass of factors of an objective nature — the geography of the school network, differing standards of elementary education, economic and cultural disparities, etc., a Warsaw study has to do with a population with more or less objectively equal opportunities.

The survey found that the most important factors governing the choice of post-elementary education were: social (family background), demographic (sex) and psycho-physical (personality, ability, interests, wish to learn).

Social background makes a distinct difference to aspirations. In families in which the parents are university graduates, the sex and personality of the child play a smaller role in the choice of school than in others. The majority entertain the highest educational ambitions for their offspring and select a general secondary school and only as second best a vocational school offering the same qualifications. Anything less than full secondary education does not as a rule enter into consideration. The motive for this choice is sometimes the somewhat luxurious one of the general secondary school being a place which provides an all-round education and a certain general 'culture'. Practical advantages figure less prominently. Among working-class families, on the other hand, the most important consideration is the learning of a good trade: children are expected to start earning a living relatively early. If after leaving primary school they continue their education instead of taking a job, not only do they not increase the family budget but have to go on being supported, and that is not part of working-class tradition. Fear of failing to secure admission to a higher level of education also counts for much in choice of options in this group. On the other hand, the risk of not getting into university after leaving a scool which provides no practical training does not deter intelligentsia families, but it is a prospect which is on the whole unacceptable to both working-class parents and children.

In 1967, there were 119,400 children in Warsaw aged 10-14, and of these 60,900 were boys and 58,500 girls; and in the 15-19 bracket, which totalled 112,800 the proportions were 57,700 and 55,100. In the 1967/68 school year, the one in which the subjects left primary school, the number of primary school leavers in Warsaw came to 21,795, of whom 11,348 were girls and 10,447 boys. As we can see, although there were more boys than girls among children as a whole, the latter outnumber the former among the school-leavers.

What has been happening to this missing group of boys before completing primary school?

For many years statistics have been revealing a larger number of boys than girls in all grades of elementary school except the last. It is possible that a certain proportion of boys transfer to adult education courses and that others drop out on reaching school-leaving age. Unfortunately I have no figures relating to the age of Warsaw schoolchildren broken down by sex. Nationally, in 1967/8, the number of children over 17 attending elementary schools in the cities came to 1,886, of whom 1,143 were boys and 743 girls. All we can say, therefore, is that school retardation is more frequent among boys than girls.

The long-standing smaller proportion of boys than girls among children completing primary school is a source of serious concern.

In working-class families the model most frequently regarded as the best for a boy is a secondary technical education. However the fairly frequent wish to see children out and earning as soon as possible tends to modify this to an elementary vocational education. As I have already noted, the national census showed that among men aged 25-29 the largest proportion had an elementary vocational education while among women it was a full secondary one.

The optimum type of education is recommended for all able children whatever their background. However, in actual practice, social circumstances make it a model which predominates only in intelligentsia families with a higher education. Though one of the achievements of the last few years is the fuller articulation of the school system, a large percentage of working class youth does not take advantage of this and ends its education at the incomplete secondary level.

From the evidence of the studies it may be concluded that among Warsaw children whose opportunities are objectively more or less equal the chances of obtaining an education differ depending on social background as a result of the social differentiation of apsirations.

That standards of education count for much in achieving a position in society is something on the whole appreciated by all social groups. In practice, however, when it comes to the education of the younger generation, there appear competing values in those which lack a tradition of education. The genuine opportunities of attaining after a relatively short period of elementary vocational training an economic

status which is no worse and sometimes better than that of people with a longer period of secondary education and a very distinctly longer period of higher education behind them encourage a corresponding motivation. The growth of consumer needs is not always correlated with the growth of intellectual needs. I believe that the answer would be to make education be seen to be profitable economically. Criteria of assessment are to a large extent determined by institutionalization of the features of the system. Higher earnings for a higher level of education would certainly raise its place in the scale of values of certain sections of society. Where a tradition of education is missing, a visible economic incentive could stimulate the development of socially desirable aspirations. As a result ability would appreciate as a natural selection factor.

The picture of aspirations which I have here sketched very roughly from the evidence of surveys in Warsaw does not of course embrace the whole of the population. In 1973 I began a study of the attitudes of the younger generation of parents, ones who have grown up since the war, to the problem of the education of their children. The subjects were a national 6,000-strong representative sample of parents of children attending the 6th grade of elementary school. The average age was 35-45. Soon they will be faced with the necessity of choosing a path in life for their children, but the two years' time they still have left means that they do not have to be guided by the contingencies of the moment and so can give full outlet to their dreams. The material gathered is now under study. The population in question comprises families from various walks of life and resident in economically and culturally differentiated localities, from voivodship town to village, where educational opportunities and standards also vary.

Studies of aspirations are in essence studies of human requirements. In revealing them one is disclosing his scale of values. The results of the survey should bring to light the systems of values to be found in different sections of society, the hierarchies of wants that have emerged from the transformations of social opportunity, and the degree of the spread of educational needs.

OVERVIEW FOR CHAPTER 3 - POLISH EDUCATION TRADITIONS

Polish national feeling is of an intensity generally associated with newly formed nations. Technically, Poland is newly reconstituted dating back to the 1918 Post W.W.I peace settlement. In actuality Poland is an old nation with roots and political organization that date back to the 10th century. Current Polish sense of pride and nationalism is related both to the tradition and the current reconstitution.

In Ryszard Woloszynski's article, "World's First Education Ministry," he notes how Poland set up the first centralized education ministry in Europe, and refers to the significance of educational achievement in Poland's heritage. Macioj Ilowiecki in his article, "Polish Science Year," notes the importance of science and technology for the development and modernization program in Poland, and refers to the 500th Anniversary of the Polish Astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus, as reflecting the heritage and accomplishment of Polish science.

OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 3

As a result of completing these readings and exercises, the reader should be able to:

1. Indicate two significant Polish educational/scientific achievements;
2. List reasons for the importance of science in contemporary Polish society.

CHAPTER 3 - POLISH EDUCATION TRADITIONS

WORLD'S FIRST EDUCATION MINISTRY

Ryszard W. Wołoszyński

The Commission for National Education, whose bicentenary falls on 14 October 1973, is one of those landmarks in Polish cultural history which continue to command wide interest. Thanks to the large stock of 18th-century publications and other records which have miraculously survived the series of intervening disasters and wars it is possible to form an ever clearer and more thorough picture of what was Europe's and probably the world's first modern ministry of education.

The idea of setting up central bodies to administer the whole field of education was one mooted by intellectual quarters in almost every European country during the Age of Reason, particularly in the second half of the 18th century, but the practical results were modest. In France, for example, where the expulsion of the Jesuits took place even earlier than in Poland (1764), making the soil similarly ripe for re-organization of the school system, several projects were drafted and widely debated, but none of this was followed through by government action. Even the persistent ventilation of this question after the French Revolution in 1789 failed to bring a rapid institution of a system of education in keeping with the requirements of the age. In Prussia and Austria the only field in which more energetic steps were taken was the village school. It is true that in 1763 Frederick II introduced a form of elementary education, but this was not placed under an official supervisory body with national responsibility. In Russia, a Commission for the Establishment of Schools was appointed in 1782; but for all its relatively important achievement, it never had a particularly wide province for action, its terms of reference being much more modest than the tasks assigned to Poland's central educational authority. Britain and her colonies left educational matters to the initiative of local authorities, and above all to religious and charitable organizations; this was why only some areas — like Massachusets in North America — had a well organized school sys-

3.1 Woloszynski, Ryszard W., "World's First Education Ministry," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVI, No. 10, 1973, pp. 15-22

tem. In the second half of the 18th century any major reforms at various levels of school education were as a rule the work of either enlightened individuals or charitable institutions. Despite the theoretical appreciation by the *siècle des lumières* of the weight and necessity of universal education and science it was only in the early years of the 19th century that such activities began to be organized by central government-sponsored bodies.

The Saxon Era — as the reigns of the two Electors of Saxony, August II and his son August III, who occupied the Polish throne from 1697 to 1763, are called in Poland — can hardly claim an honoured place in the history of our nation. The political system of the 'Gentry Commonwealth' had been grieviously exposed by the wars and internal strife of the mid-17th century and in the 18th crumbled altogether under the growing political anarchy. Attempts at reform were not to the liking of the mass of the landowner class, and the efforts of its most enlightened members were thwarted by the policy of the Court or developments in the international arena. As a result of this situation the country, vast in area but deprived of effective government and a strong army, had become a virtual protectorate of Russia. Under the circumstances its school system could of course hardly be satisfactory. It was almost exclusively controlled by religious orders, above all the Jesuits; and it catered basically for the needs of the gentry, and partly the townsmen. Only very few peasant children could attend the poorly equipped parish schools where they were taught the rudiments of the art of reading, writing and arithmetic. Schools of all kinds and levels, including the two universities in Cracow and Wilno, professed quite obsolete scientific and educational theories.

Yet the Saxon Era was at the same time a period of transition — of the emergence of the earliest forms of capitalist economy in Poland. New ideas, known under the general name of Enlightenment, were slowly being born and spreading. One of the characteristic traits of the Polish Enlightenment was its determination to tap the superb cultural traditions of our own Renaissance heritage, notably the legacy of the 16th century.

About the middle of the 18th century major changes for the better were made in the Polish school system. The Piarist schools were reformed and modernized by Stanisław Konarski, and some of the educational institutions run by the Jesuits followed suit. The accession of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, in 1764, marked the beginning

of an even happier period. In the following year he presided over the foundation of the so-called 'Knights School', the country's first secular college which was designed to raise gentry children in a patriotic spirit, training officers in times of war and political leaders in times of peace.

Soon, however, the position in this respect was sadly complicated by political developments. Internal unrest in the years 1767-72 led to intervention by the neighbouring powers and ended in the first partition of Poland. This act of international brigandry was approved by the Sejm which met in 1773. To their credit, the deputies also tried to push new laws through which could help the future progress of the country. Thus, when Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus in July 1773 and it became imperative to settle the problem of the Jesuit schools, the Sejm set up, on 14 October, a Commission of National Education to carry out the task. It was composed of eight — later twelve — 'commissioners' and the whole of education in the country came within its purview. Its members included the most active figures in the political and educational world.

The CNE was given charge of schools of all types, and the majority of educational institutions was under its direct administration. The funds came from the estates of the Jesuits. It immediately began intensive work on planning the organization of the school network. The country was divided into two basic 'provinces' — in accordance with the political division of the Polish state composed as it was of the 'Crown' (ie. Poland proper and a part of Ukraine) and Lithuania. The leading role in these two school districts was played by so-called Principal Schools, the universities in Cracow and Wilno, as reformed in the early eighties by two eminent scientists, Hugo Kołłątaj, later known for his progressive political activity, and astronomer Marcin Poczobut-Odlanicki. They were to train teachers for the entire school system and supervise its operation. A variety of curricula was designed to produce the specialists the country needed badly — doctors, jurists, etc. — and these were taught by distinguished experts, some of them invited from foreign countries. Higher secondary, or 'divisional', schools providing six- or seven-year courses of study, supervised the operation of lower, 'subdivisional' secondary schools and of parish schools in their area.

During the lifetime of the Commission there were some eighty secondary schools of various types; and according to a necessarily very rough estimate they trained a total of some 40,000 — or even 12,000 —

young people, most of them between the ages of 11 and 17 years. This was by no means an insignificant figure if we bear in mind that the country's population in 1775 was about 7,400,000 (8.0 million in 1771) -- of which the gentry and the clergy accounted, depending on the region, from between 2 and 10 per cent. It was from this stratum that the leaders of the reform camp during the Great Sejm of 1788-92 and of the Kościuszko Insurrection of 1794 were recruited. The number of parish school pupils, or even of the schools themselves, cannot be now ascertained with any degree of accuracy — but it is probable that at the time of the greatest efflorescence, in the eighties, there were over 500 such schools in the Crown and Lithuania.

The task of supplying the proper textobooks was entrusted to the newly formed (1775) 'Society for Elementary Books', whose secretary was the eminent educator, Grzegorz Piramowicz. The effects of the efforts of the school authorities were reflected during public examinations and, in secondary schools, in the annual performances given by schoolboys. The programmes of these events, in most cases in the form of questions, were often published in print. The pupils presented to the public their progressive views and interpretations in the field of the humanities and social sciences, and put forth certain postulates regarding the necessary political and social reforms in the Republic. They also discussed scientific and technical discoveries made all over the world. Isaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Leonhard Euler are some of the famous scientists whose researches were discussed by the pupils in the physical sciences section. Much attention was devoted to recent research into electricity, the principles of ballon flights were explained, and research apparatus — telescopes and microscopes — was studied. Although the surviving texts of these performances come from only some — and the best — schools run by the Commission of National Education, they give a good idea of the immensity of its achievement in helping not only youth but the whole educated community to assimilate knowledge.

Unfortunately, this reform of education — which, though still reserved mainly for the gentry, was being made increasingly available to the townsman and even the peasant class — was soon cut short by political developments. The Empress Catherine II, alarmed by the progress of reforms in general in Poland and the enactment of the progressive Third of May Constitution in 1791, sent in troops and in the following year gave power to the opposition who had banded into the so-called Targowica Confederation. The country began to organise

against the foreign influence and the rule of Polish reactionaries. In this underground activity, and later during the Kościuszko Insurrection, the most prominent role was played by the teachers and staff of the Commission for National Education, and by pupils and graduates of its schools. But the Insurrection was defeated, and its downfall spelled a severe blow to the movement towards social reform.

But it seems beyond doubt that the consciousness of the educated section of the 18th century was heavily affected by the schools under the Commission for National Education. Contemporary foreign visitors were full of praise for the very idea of this institution — and its realization. Mathematician and astronomer Johann Bernoulli, of the famous 'dynasty' of scientists from Switzerland, wrote in his description of Poland published in 1779 in Leipzig: 'Nothing could bring greater fame to the present government than that in its time there was created an institution the like of which no other countries possess, though how many badly need it! In a country which has suffered such neglect in learning such an institution is more useful than all the academies of learning put together. It considers the common good as its most important goal, and is stubbornly driving towards it.' Equally warm praise was lavished on the Commission by the Englishman William Coxe who visited Poland about the same time as Bernoulli: 'Since the suppression of the Jesuits, the king has established a committee of education, composed of members distinguished either by high station, or enlightened understanding. The committee has an absolute power in matters of education; appoints professors; regulates their salary; and directs their studies. The advantages of this regulation have already been experienced.' Not all foreigners were so enthusiastic — but, with the exception of obvious pamphleteers, they on the whole saw the importance of the work being done to improve education. The secretary of Berlin's Academy of Sciences, Jean-Henri-Samuel Formey, wrote to Grzegorz Piramowicz on 11 September 1775: 'And I can assure you in all candour that with regard to sciences, their arrangement and order, I have seen nothing more perfect than your announcement. And for this reason at the last session I submitted this announcement to our Berlin Academy. I will also see to it that its copies are published in the best known periodical literary journals.'

Formey's remarks concerned an appeal by the Society for Elementary Books, informing representatives of the world of learning both at home and all over Europe of the Society's plans. Published

in Polish and Latin as early as 1775, it was soon translated into several languages and repeatedly reprinted. It aroused considerable interest among, particularly, the French physiocrats many of whom stood close to the sponsors of the Commission and cooperated in the work of educational reform; one of them, Pierre-Samuel Du Pont, known after the French Revolution as Du Pont de Nemours, served for several months in 1774 as the Commission's secretary 'for foreign correspondence'. The appeal of the Society for Elementary Books was also published in the *Journal Encyclopédique* (of 1778), the famous French journal propagating the progressive ideas of the Enlightenment.

The effects of this appeal were not limited to words of appreciation from the leading intellectuals of Europe. Some of them even sent in manuscripts of textbooks for Polish schools. One of these was an exposition of the foundations of arithmetic, geometry and algebra submitted by Simon Lhuilier, from Geneva. The textbook was awarded a prize by the Society for Elementary Books, and was several times published in Polish translation, even though its pioneering and difficult approach was not acclaimed by all teachers. The famous Condillac also declared his readiness to 'serve a free nation' and soon sent a manuscript of a textbook of logic — which, however, for various — partly technical — reasons was not translated into Polish during the Commission's term of office.

The tradition of the Commission for National Education, both of its organization and teaching methods, was for many years cultivated on Polish territory. It lay at the roots of the school system in the Prussian zone, and it was particularly strong in the Duchy of Warsaw and the Congress Kingdom in the first decades of the 19th century; it was also from this tradition that stemmed the later ideas of Polish educators. The most interesting point, however, is the impact of the Polish example on the organization of the Russian school system at the beginning of the 19th century. This was due to the standard of the schools in the eastern areas of Poland annexed by Russia following the country's final debacle in 1795. Many of the guiding principles of the Polish educational system were utilized in the rapidly growing network of Russia's secondary and higher schools in the early 19th century. Unfortunately, the mounting wave of political reaction soon restricted the scope of these influences — which the authorities regarded as 'dangerously' progressive. Even so the Polish ideas in the field of school organization and teaching methods still

played a vital role, and many Polish teachers and researchers working in Russia upheld the best traditions of Polish 18th-century education as enriched and continued in the beginnings of the following century.

All this is the best proof of the value, durability and vitality of the achievement of the Commission for National Education.

POLISH SCIENCE YEAR

Maciej Ilowiecki

However we may care to define the essence of the modern scientific-technological revolution, we should be agreed on at least some of the fundamental characteristics of this extraordinary historical phenomenon. Thus it would appear to be certain that in the social and economic life of many societies science and technology are beginning to play a fundamental role.

The immediate exploitation of their achievements in production and in every kind of social activity is becoming a new, constantly accelerating force in the development of civilization. On the other hand, the demands of science itself are increasing with inordinate speed, and its material and intellectual potential is growing. In this situation, the ability to control such a meaningful sphere of social activity becomes a matter of the first moment — that is, to control it in such a way as to create at the same time the best conditions for scientific research and make possible the most appropriate system of feedbacks between science, technology and the economy.

As we all know, this is not an easy task, and it may be said that all countries are struggling with it and finding better or worse solutions. Obviously this problem is at its most difficult in small and medium-sized countries, especially those which have undertaken a programme of intensive economic development and find themselves in the phase of accelerated growth. Such countries must make, first and foremost, an appropriate selection from among the various fields of scientific research and concentrate their efforts in the chosen directions, as they cannot afford to cover the entire scientific field. It is well known that this selection is exceptionally difficult, as it must take into account above all two postulates which are not always entirely convergent: it must be in accordance with the concrete needs of the country and its anticipated development and at the same time it must take into account the actual situation, the traditions obtaining

3.2 Ilowiecki, Maciej, "Polish Science Year," Polish Perspectiv
Vol. 16, No. 2, 1973, pp. 3-7

in the country in question, and the development needs of science itself.

Secondly, in the rapidly developing countries, the acceleration of research and its effectiveness assume particular importance. Many considerations conspire to prevent these countries being able to afford the safe road of trial and error (accessible to highly developed and rich countries), or at any rate the number of errors must be kept at a minimum. The *effectiveness* and *speed* with which the results of research find application in reality are a *sine qua non* of economic development.

Such a country is Poland. Science and technology must create — and are creating — the basis of the development and modernization of our society. Obviously such a foundation will not build itself, while its future durability will depend on today's achievements. And it is equally obvious that the effectiveness of these achievements will arise in equal measure from the work of the scientific community and a correct scientific policy on the part of the government.

We should like the year 1973 to be an epoch-making year to this extent, that is, we should like it to be a year of particular mobilization of those who work in the fields of science and technology and a period of fundamental organizational initiatives in the sphere of research and the exploitation of its results. That is why 1973 has been proclaimed Polish Science Year. This date was not chosen at random — we have taken advantage of the fact that certain anniversaries are due is this period, which recall exceptionally fine traditions valued by the Poles. In this way we affirm the unity of our culture and scientific thought over the centuries — the achievements of the past are to support the activities of the present and bring future aims into prominence.

The first, and certainly the most important anniversary, to be celebrated with us by the whole world, is the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543). The life and work of the great Polish astronomer are well known, so I will not dwell on them. I shall only mention that the Polish contribution to the development of natural science essentially made its appearance as early as the 13th century, when the Silesian Witelo (Vitelius) published his — at that time fundamental — treatise on optics. In the 14th century, King Casimir the Great founded Cracow University (1364), today one of the oldest and most famous European universities. The University, later called the Jagiellonian University, became with the lapse of

time a centre of the exact sciences and a hotbed of the progressive thought of the day and of tolerance. To the lectures given by the mathematicians and astronomers Marcin Król of Żórawica, Jan of Głogów, Marcin Bylica of Olkusz, Wojciech of Brudzew, and others, came students from all the countries of Europe. In the atmosphere of devotion to science and exact thinking of the Jagiellonian Academy Copernicus was educated, nurtured in the soil of Polish Renaissance culture. One may, I think, venture the assertion that this scholar not only marked out the future development of astronomy but also initiated, to some extent, modern science in general. His heliocentric system became the basis of a radical scientific revolution which, perhaps, reached even deeper, beyond the boundaries of the exact sciences themselves, for it began the process of the rationalization of human thought. In the second half of the 16th century the Cracow Academy was the only university in the world in which the heliocentric theory was recognized and in which its principles were taught to students.

Today we should like to stress in particular the boldness of the Copernican idea and the scholar's sober determination in his search for scientific truth, the breadth of his horizons and the universality of the principles to which he subordinated his research activity — and it is to these traditions that we are reverting.

The most important moment in the Copernican celebrations will be the extraordinary Congress of the International Astronomical Union in Toruń. Astronomers from all over the world will present here the achievements to date of the science of the universe. There will also take place, under the aegis of UNESCO, 'Colloquia Copernicana'.

In 1973 too will be the bicentenary of the foundation in Poland of the first Ministry of Education — the National Education Commission, the first institution set up to organize a public system of education. Contemporaries wrote of this commission that '...we shall have the honour of being the first nation in Europe in which the governing power has decided to busy itself with supervising the education of youth'.

This institution was created by the most enlightened men of the age at a moment critical for the survival of Poland as a state, and belongs to the most valuable traditions of Polish education and culture. One may also, I think, term the activity of the Commission and the concept of it an essential germ of progress in general in the history of education. The Commission spread the idea, which was revolu-

tionary for the times, that the most valuable thing a man has is the strength of his intellect, and recognized it as necessary and possible to carry out social reconstruction through education.

By a curious coincidence the anniversaries of Copernicus' birth and of the founding of the National Education Commission fall in the same year. Thus we shall have occasion to reflect on two crucial events in the history of Polish culture. The theory of Copernicus became a symbol and was at the same time of fruit of the Polish Renaissance; the National Education Commission was a great achievement of the Polish Enlightenment, an essential link in the regeneration of Polish society and the formation of the modern nation.

We are taking up the traditions of the National Education Commission at a portentous moment, at a time of thoroughgoing educational reform in Poland, when a great many projects have been started on the adaptation of education to the requirements of the modern age.

Finally, the third even anniversary to fall in 1973 is the centenary of the founding of the Academy of Learning. A hundred years ago, in 1873, there arose in Cracow — it was, in fact, a continuation of the 'Cracovian Scientific Society' — an association of Polish scholars which was intended to exercise guardianship over the development of science in Poland and in the — then numerous — Polish centres abroad. It should be remembered that in a country divided, as Poland was then, into three partition zones, this was no easy task — the fact that it was undertaken is a good testimonial to the patriotism and vitality of our scientific thought.

The Academy of Learning, which was active in the Austrian partition zone, had — albeit unofficially — an all-Polish character, it was a symbol of the unity of a nation divided, and also represented Polish science at international congresses. In 1919, one year after Poland gained her independence, the Academy assumed the name of the Polish Academy of Learning and contained the most outstanding scholars in the whole country. The Polish Academy of Learning was the immediate predecessor of what is at present our highest scientific institution, the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Historical traditions constitute valuable capital, and we should like to disseminate them widely in society and to exploit them, drawing from the experience and supported by the courage of previous generations. Nevertheless it is not tradition — immeasurably precious

though it may be — which is to form the main content of Polish Science Year.

We hope that we shall succeed above all in occupying ourselves with the future of science and in working out the essential conditions of its future development — all the more so as we have not succeeded in the course of our previous activities in avoiding mistakes and overcoming all setbacks. The greatest difficulty we encountered was in effectively assimilating the results of research in practice. The processes of so-called breaking in, that is, of immediate exploitation, especially in industrial and agricultural production, of scientific and technological achievements, developed too slowly and inefficiently. The integration of the scientific community with the tasks set by the economy was not always successful, and we were unable to avoid a certain bureaucratization of our scientific institutions and mistakes in the planning and financing of science; also the training of research personnel was not intensive enough in the face of the enormous extent of our needs. Irregularities of this kind are occurring today in very many countries and are not in themselves a tragedy: what is important is the speed of changes for the better, the capacity to carry out such changes and the realizing of the true source of the mistakes. One of the tasks of Science Year is in fact to discover and remove the causes of setbacks and to hasten changes.

At present the role and place of science in the country are in accordance with the demands of the epoch of scientific and technological revolution. And the contribution of Polish scientific thought to world science is good evidence of the intellectual vitality of our researchers. At this point, I think, a few sentences at least are in order about the conditions in which Polish science made its postwar debut, as they are too often forgotten.

During the Second World War there perished or were murdered 60 per cent of the total number of our scientific personnel, including very many world-famous scientists. Library collections and archives were either burned or taken away by the occupation forces, almost in their entirety. Out of all scientific laboratories only three (!) did not suffer destruction, whereas 50 per cent of them were totally destroyed. After the war Polish science did not only have to catch up with the current of world research after a six-year interval, it did not only have to make up for its own enormous losses, but also had to undertake the exceptional, new tasks involved in the reconstruc-

tion of a devastated country. It may be said, perhaps, without false modesty, that Polish science acquitted itself of these difficult tasks to become today the principal motor in the development of modern Poland.

I think it would be worth providing some data supporting the above thesis and indicating some of our plans and perspectives in the field of scientific research.

Thus in 1967, according to UNESCO data, expenditure on research and development in Poland came to about 1.4 per cent gross of national income, and hence to very little. In 1971, however, we had already achieved about 2 per cent, while in 1975 2.5 per cent of the national income will be designated for this purpose. This is the level characteristic of the majority of economically developed countries.

As regards the number of scientific personnel and engineers per 10,000 inhabitants, Poland, with an index of 14.1 is today outstripping such countries as, for example, the Netherlands (12.5), the Federal Republic of Germany (10.9) and France (10.2), although this considerable manpower potential is still excessively dispersed and is not used to the best advantage. Thus efforts will be made to concentrate it and exploit it better.

The increase in financial investments and the improvement of laboratory equipment are only part of the task. It is also a matter of the fundamental reorganization of science, of adapting its structure to its function in the state. Already in 1971 certain new principles were introduced in the control of research, such as the planning and financing of entire cycles — from basic research up to and including industrial application, and the use of the method of 'administration by goals', i.e. the directing of research towards ultimate goals, theoretical and applied, etc.

At this point I think it should be recalled that in a socialist economy, the State has sole disposition over the resources designated for science and technology, which makes possible the central control of these spheres of human activity. This facilitates the formulation and realization of certain strategic goals in research, goals which are subordinate to the demands of the rapid progress of society and civilization. A practical expression of those aims are the so-called key research problems which come under the central State plan and are generously financed. Polish science is tackling at present 71 such problems, which constitute, in fact, large research and development programmes, bringing together institutes from various fields. As a matter

of fact we are still wondering what ought to be the optimal size of the field of research covered by one 'key problem', and what ought to be the most effective methods of planning and control over the carrying out of tasks within the limits of individual problems. These are difficult and controversial questions, the more so as we lack the experience possessed by others. One may speak roughly of two schools of thought: there are those in favour of fixing more concrete and particular problems, and of a more centralized and continuous control over them in the course of their realization, and those in favour of more general, 'strategic' tasks and control only over their ultimate execution, with the retention of considerably greater freedom for research institutes as regards the organizational ways and means of carrying out these tasks.

Obviously, the 'key problems' do not embrace all the research undertaken in Poland, and the use of this term does not mean that research not concerning these problems is supposed to be neglected. It is just a matter of concentrating efforts and resources on that research which we are convinced is most essential for the future of the country.

On the basis of our own and other people's experience we have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to counteract quickly the growing institutionalization and particularization of science. That is why so much importance is attached to the possibility of creating flexible research groups for the purpose of solving concrete problems. Such a possibility has, in fact, been created in Poland: scientists and technologists of various specialities may join together in informal groups and adapt the organization of research institutes to varying problems. There is also being created a new system of incentives to make people working in science and the economy interested in improving the feedbacks between those two areas.

We must also — in ironing out certain errors of the past — create new bases for a more efficient cooperation between the three main divisions of scientific research in this country. As is known, research in Poland is concentrated in the institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences, in institutes of higher education, as well as in the research institutes of various ministries and the so-called research base of the economy. Hitherto cooperation between these three divisions has not been arranged as well as it might be — partly because of various bureaucratic difficulties, partly because of various environmental obstacles.

Finally, great importance would appear to attach to making the system of feedback between teams of experts and state institutions more efficient. The matter consists in ensuring that scientific diagnoses and expert reports, which are indispensable for the taking of general decisions at state level, should be drawn up faster and made use of more efficiently.

Optimal decision-making requires above all, as we know, a daily to day inflow of comprehensive and reliable information. That is one of the reasons why we want to lay particular emphasis on the development of information theory and the creation of efficient and dependable information systems based on modern electronics.

An exceptional amount of attention is also devoted to the training of new research personnel. This is a very difficult matter, as it requires the reconciliation of two apparently opposed aims: an appreciable acceleration of the 'production' of scientific personnel, and at the same time an even better preparation of them for creative work, and hence an improvement in the quality of training. Nevertheless we shall try to achieve both aims simultaneously."

I have mentioned some of the many tasks facing Polish science solely in order to give a general idea of their character and scope. The main aim of the changes and improvements is — in the most general terms — a fundamental increase in the effectiveness of research both in the pure and applied fields.

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The central point of Science Year is to be the Second Polish Science Congress in June 1973 (the First was held in July, 1951), organized under the slogan 'Science in the service of the Nation' and at which all our outstanding talents in the sphere of science will be assembled. The Congress will create the basis for an exchange of views on the subject of the development of science, will sum up the results of nationwide discussions, will clothe many undertakings in legal form and present fundamental proposals and suggestions from the scientists themselves.

The Congress will mark out the main tasks of Polish science and present the nation with its achievements to date and perspectives for the future. We are counting on the proud slogan, which is to be the guiding principle of the discussions, being transformed in reality into genuine, concrete undertakings worthy of the epoch.

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On 30 September 1972, inside the walls of Poland's oldest university — the Jagiellonian University — there took place a solemn inauguration of the academic year at which Polish Science Year was proclaimed. The First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, the Chairman of the Council of State, Professor Henryk Jabłoński, and the President of the Council of Ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz, took part. Their presence in Cracow testified to the hopes which the highest authorities in the land see in the development of science and to the place they assign it in the life of the nation.

'Our task,' said the Chairman of the Council of State on that occasion, 'is the full and comprehensive carrying out of the scientific and technological revolution. We have need of new inventions, technology, new methods of controlling production and all the mechanisms of economic life...' Professor Henryk Jabłoński concluded his speech with the words: '...We must all be aware that science is the great hope of the nation, which associates strongly and persistently its dreams and aspirations with its achievements.'

Today, it would seem, the time has come to transform this fine hope into reality.

☐ THE TRADITIONS OF POLISH EDUCATION

Education in People's Poland is heir to many creditable and progressive traditions acquired in the course of Poland's over thousand-year-long history.

The first cathedral and collegiate schools preparing for the priesthood were established as early as the end of the 12th century; parochial schools, the influence of which was wider, emerged somewhat later. 1364 is generally recognized as a turning point in the history of Polish education, when Casimir the Great established a university in Cracow — the Cracow Academy, which became famous throughout Europe.

In the 15th century, the Cracow Academy became one of Europe's most distinguished universities. It was characterized by an atmosphere of tolerance for different philosophical currents and an open attitude towards new trends in science. The exact sciences attained a high standard in Cracow. The Academy became an international centre of astronomical studies thanks to such professors as Marcin Król of Żurawica, Wojciech of Brudzew and others. Among its pupils was Nicolaus Copernicus. Jan of Ludzisko, Grzegorz of Sanok, and the Italian Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus taught there.

The reception of humanistic culture in Poland from the middle of the 15th century onwards had great importance for the deepening of education and adapting it to the needs of economic and political life.

Humanistic traditions of education were kept up by dissident schools which began to appear in Poland from the fourth decade of the 16th century onwards. The religious tolerance prevailing in Poland was favourable to the growth of these schools; professors persecuted for their convictions came from abroad, while young people came from distant countries to study.

In their teaching, those schools took account of the latest achievements of science, especially of the natural sciences. They also appreciated the importance of the vernacular in teaching. Within a short time, they became centres of knowledge and intellectual culture.

Among Polish dissident schools in the first half of the 17th century, a special role was played by the Gymnasium of the Bohemian Brethren at Leszno near Poznań, due to the educational work there (from 1628) of Jan Amos Komensky who, persecuted in his own country, found refuge in Poland.

This progressive development was hampered by the rise of Jesuit education in the second half of the 16th century, which was intended to prevent the further spread of the Reformation.

The progressive gentry attempted to counteract the negative results of Jesuit education by creating private schools like the Academy founded by Jan Zamoyski in Zamość, which had a wide-ranging and progressive curriculum.

The progressive current in education also found expression in pedagogic theory. One should cite here, above all, such works as *De scholis seu academiis* by Simon Maricius of Pilsen (1551), Andrzej Fryca Modrzewski's famous treatise *De Republica emendanda* (1551), and the first pedagogical work in Polish, Erazm Gliczner's *Księżki o wychowaniu dzieci* (Books on the Education of Children), published in 1558. All these authors perceived the value of education in public life and proceeded to substantiate it. The most radical, however, in his views was Fryca Modrzewski, the greatest social thinker of the Polish Renaissance and one of the most distinguished in the Europe of his day. He considered education one of the foundations of effective government. He criticized court education. He insisted, among other things, on the development of schools under State auspices and on providing schooling for the peasantry. He considered teaching to be the most honourable of all professions.

The educational thinkers of the Enlightenment drew upon those progressive views. Great services in reforming Poland's schools were rendered by the Piarists, and in particular by Father Stanislaw Konarski, who opened a new era in education. A major step towards the taking over by the State of the entire system of education was made when King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski established in 1765 the Gentry's Academy of the Cadet Corps, commonly called the Knights' School. The alumni of this school, coming for the most part from indigent gentry families, prepared themselves to tackle the reforms necessary for the elimination of ignorance, backwardness and prejudice.

Yet the greatest event in the history of education in Poland took place in 1773, when the Seym established on the initiative of King Stanislaus Augustus and enlightened circles, the Commission of National Education, the world's first Ministry of Education.

As a result of the endeavours of this Commission, a uniform system of national education was created, from elementary to university level. The Commission's main task was to free instruction from metaphysics and scholasticism. Mathematics and the natural sciences were brought into the foreground, and education was integrated with the life of the country, its culture and history. It was in this spirit that the Universities of Cracow and Vilna were reformed.

Thanks to the efforts of Hugo Kołłątaj, a department of practical mechanics was founded in Cracow, where lectures were given for craftsmen on Sundays and holidays.

The Commission devoted much attention to elementary education. The syllabus of these schools combined elementary education with acquiring technical competence in the fields of agriculture, handicrafts and trade.

The Society for Elementary Books put much effort into the preparation of

3.3 "The Traditions of Polish Education," Poland, a Handbook, Warsaw, Interpress Publishers, 1974, pp. 316-338

textbooks, whose originality consisted in the fact that they contained directions for the teacher which, as a rule, occupied more space than the text intended for the pupils.

The fall of the Gentry Commonwealth and the three consecutive partitions of Poland among Russia, Prussia and Austria (in 1772, 1793 and 1795 respectively) gradually brought the educational achievements of the Enlightenment to ruin. The situation of schools was hard. In an attempt to reduce the country to submission, the governments of the partitioning powers Russified and Germanized the schools. The struggle for Polish schools became a condition of national survival.

The territories of the short-lived Duchy of Warsaw created by Napoleon (1807—12) or, later, of the vestigial Kingdom of Poland (after 1815) saw the development of many scientific and educational institutions. This period witnessed the activities of Stanislaw Staszic, one of Poland's most illustrious educators.

Staszic is remembered as the founder of vocational training in Poland. His initiative gave rise to the Mining Academy in Kielce, the Forestry School in Warsaw and the Agronomic Institute in Marymont.

Of immense importance were the Preparatory School of the Polytechnical Institute, established in Warsaw in 1826 (Stanislaw Staszic had had specialists trained for its needs in various countries), the University of Warsaw, founded in 1816, which was intended for training higher civil servants and judges, doctors and teachers, and the University of Vilna. A Society of Friends of Learning was founded and steadily increased the range of its activities.

After the collapse of the November Rising in 1831, the Russian authorities closed down the Universities of Warsaw and Vilna, the Preparatory School of the Polytechnical Institute, the Agronomic Institute, the upper grades of secondary schools and the Society of Friends of Learning. Both teachers and pupils were subject to police control, and teaching standards were lowered.

The collapse of the subsequent national-liberation rising in 1863 brought about a further intensification of Germanization and Russification measures throughout the entire school system. This situation provoked numerous school strikes, especially at the beginning of the 20th century.

A noticeable revival in the field of education occurred with the rise of the Polish working-class movement. From 1870 onwards, active self-improvement circles were organized to spread knowledge among workers.

While in the Russian- and Prussian-held parts of Poland, the Polish school system was being wiped out, the Austrian-ruled part could boast relatively substantial achievements in education. The National School Board, established by the weakened Austrian monarchy succeeded in Polonizing both elementary and secondary schools. The Universities in Cracow and Lvov, Polonized in the years 1870—74, were centres of Polish scientific thought and maintained high academic standards.

This historical outline of Polish education, of necessity greatly condensed, may give an idea of the situation of Polish schools in 1918, on the threshold of independence, after 123 years of subjection and division into partitions. The building of a uniform school system out of the three separate systems existing in the former partitions, was no easy matter.

Thus the most important task in the field of education consisted in unifying the organization and standards of schools in the whole country and in

making up — if only in part — for the neglect they had suffered during the partition period. The problem of schools for the national minorities had also to be solved. The training of qualified personnel for the needs of the economy and culture had to be started. School buildings were lacking. All this called for huge financial outlays and a great organizational effort.

A testimony to the difficulties of that period is the fact that in 1919, only 47 per cent of the children obliged by law to attend school actually did so. Only one-third of the teachers were graduates of teachers' colleges while 56.6 per cent of all teachers had only elementary education. It was therefore a considerable achievement that by 1921/22, 68.2 per cent of children were attending schol, and by 1928/29 this proportion had risen to 98.4 per cent. The number of teachers and of classrooms was growing at the same time.

The first years of the reborn Republic saw a development of secondary education.

Between 1922 and 1923 the number of grammar schools (gymnasia) rose from 762 to 780 and the number of pupils attending them amounted to 227,000 and 215,000 respectively. This figure did not, however, include children from poorer homes.

As the years went by, the development of schools in liberated Poland lost its initial impetus and in the mid-thirties one could speak of an outright educational catastrophe.

In the years 1928—35, school attendance dropped from 98.4 per cent to 88.3 per cent which, in absolute figures, meant that nearly one million children were going without schooling.

The situation and extent of the school system were greatly influenced by Poland's economic position during the so-called *sanacja* period. The unemployment and destitution of large masses of the population made it practically impossible for them to avail themselves of the benefits of education.

Higher education, on the other hand, developed in the inter-war period. Shortly after the war, State Universities were established in Warsaw, Poznań and Vilna, and the Catholic University was founded in Lublin. Furthermore, the Polytechnic in Warsaw, the Mining Academy in Cracow, the Higher School of Trade, the Main School of Agriculture and the Free Polish University were opened. In 1919, the National Library was established, and in 1928 the Institute of Bibliography; the network of archives was expanded and reorganized. The Academy of Technical Sciences was organized and a dozen or so scientific institutes were established. General and specialized scientific societies came into existence — above all the Academy of Learning (later transformed into the Polish Academy of Learning) which was the country's main scientific institution and represented Polish science abroad. In spite of difficult circumstances, Polish science developed at quite a fast rate. The reconstruction of scientific life was based on the old personnel, reinforced by Polish scholars who had previously held chairs abroad. In many disciplines, world standards were attained.

In the inter-war period, science developed mainly in institutions of higher education. In 1937/38, Poland's 32 institutions of higher learning had 93 faculties and 782 chairs, employing a total teaching and research staff of 3,171. Enrolment in institutions of higher education in that year amounted to 49,534 students.

Higher education was, however, exclusive. The varying standards of ele-

mentary schools, the limited range of secondary schools and high tuition fees — all these things contributed to the elite character of the universities.

In the years 1918—38, Polish universities conferred a total of 83,000 degrees. This failed to meet the huge social and economic demand for people with higher education.

In 1939, there began a five-year period of national enslavement. The system of reprisals launched after the Nazi invasion of Poland was aimed at a total annihilation of Polish culture. This was made abundantly clear by the statements of the Nazi Governor-General, Hans Frank, who wrote in his diaries: "... One should leave to the Poles only such educational opportunities as will show them the hopelessness of their national situation... No Pole shall rise above the rank of foreman... Every Pole must feel that we are not building for him a State of law and order and that nothing remains for him but one obligation: to work and to obey."

As a result of the war, material losses in schools and scientific institutions amounted to 60 per cent of pre-war assets. About 16,000 teachers died. The Nazi authorities had closed down the universities, and professors were deported to concentration camps, the Polish Academy of Learning and all other scientific institutions were abolished, and all secondary schools were closed down. In elementary schools in the so-called General Government — which covered only a small part of former Poland — instruction in Polish history and geography was banned — while in the remaining parts of Poland even elementary schools were closed down. The purpose of vocational education was to supply German industry with skilled workers and forced labour.

The reprisals carried out by the occupation forces provoked an immediate reaction on the part of school youth, parents and teachers. Underground education began to function in the very first weeks of the occupation. In December 1939, the underground Secret Organization of Teachers (TON) was formed which unified the underground educational movement. It was a movement of very wide range, covering the entire country. There existed separate underground school systems for secondary and higher education; in territories outside of the General Government, underground elementary schools also functioned.

The immense patriotic achievement of the teachers may be seen from the fact that underground universities benefited some 10,000 young people, that about 100,000 studied in underground secondary schools, and that underground instruction in the Polish language, history and geography at elementary school level covered about 1 million children.

This hard, responsible and devoted work on the part of the teachers kept hundreds of Polish children from illiteracy, while propagating patriotism and the will to fight. At the same time, plans began to be drawn up for a reform of the Polish school system after liberation. Consequently, when the war came to an end, the authorities were not confronted by the absence of a programme of school reform.

OVERVIEW FOR CHAPTER 4 - RECENT AND CURRENT POLISH EDUCATION

Recent changes in Polish education are related to different areas of concern in a new societal context. The selection, "Education" from Poland, A Handbook refers to educational change in recent time, and presents official perspectives on the nature and significance of these changes. In "The New Village School," Mikolaj Kozakiewicz discusses the recommendations of the governmental Committee of Experts for changes and improvements in village schools. The chairman of this Committee, Jan Szczepanski is interviewed in "The New Shape of Education," and relates the changes taking place in the context of education and the resulting recommendations for improving education. Extensive elaboration on the report of this Committee of Experts is accomplished by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz in his article, "The Reform of Education." He details and elaborates on the plans and alternatives for re-shaping Polish education over a fifteen year period. Bogdan Suchodolski in "The Future of Higher Education," describes the democratic expansion, and needs for quality and changes in direction in Polish higher education. The concluding article by Nellie Apanasewicz, on The Educational System in Poland provides an American overview on current organization and structure of Polish Education.

OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 4

As a result of completing these readings and exercises, the reader should be able to:

1. List three problems facing Polish Education prior to the 1973 reforms;
2. List five major changes proposed by the reforms of 1973, and indicate the justifications for these proposed changes;
3. Draw an organizational chart of the formal educational structure in Poland, explain the function and role of each of the component parts, and list significant curricula provided by each of the parts of the educating system.

☐ THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AFTER 1944

The year 1944 opened a new chapter in the history of the Polish nation. The constitutional and political changes which took place created the necessary basis for an educational revolution that would render possible the educational advancement of the entire nation. Next to the land reform and the nationalization of industry, the educational reform was the essential factor that determined the new economic, political, social and cultural face of a reviving Poland.

The way to the cultural advancement of the people led through making education universal and democratic both as regards organization and curriculum.

The first most urgent task was the fight against illiteracy. In 1946, the number of illiterates amounted to about 3 million or more than 18 per cent of Poland's population (not counting children under 9 years of age). One half of the people who could neither read nor write were of working age. The implementation of the programme of transforming the country was impossible until this social calamity was overcome.

A great amount of work was necessary for carrying out the reform of the elementary school system, its democratization, the elimination of harmful divisions, giving an equal start to all children, whether attending urban or rural schools.

The programme for Poland's development envisaged the industrialization of the country. This could not be implemented, however, without adequately trained specialists. It was therefore necessary to lay foundations for the development of vocational schools of various types and levels. It was also necessary to organize various forms of specialized and additional training for working people without tearing them away from their jobs.

The expansion of schools of all levels met with major personnel difficulties. The scope of education, covering children, young people and adults, had expanded enormously and there was a lack of teachers and lecturers. The training of adequate teaching personnel was the greatest concern of the school authorities in the first years after liberation.

It was also necessary to reconstruct the school network in its entirety in view of the great migrations caused by Poland's changed frontiers, the settlement of the recovered territories in the West and North, and the return of war emigrants. The process continuing to this day of migration from the countryside to the towns, caused by the country's rapid industrialization and urbanization, was also very important. Considerable changes occurred in the number of children of school age, as a result of the war and occupation and of the greatly increased birth-rate and decreased death-rate after the war.

In the years 1944—48, the basic programme of democratizing education was implemented. A uniform school system was adopted and education at all levels was made accessible to children from working-class and peasant homes. The principle of free tuition was put into effect and an extensive system of scholarships was organized. State expenditure on education was increased.

The years 1951—52 saw the elimination of illiteracy as a social phenomenon. By that time, too, elementary education was made fully universal, and the differences in standards between urban and rural schools were leveled out. Thus began the great process of national education which — in somewhat changed forms — is still going on.

Article 61 of the Constitution states: "Citizens of the Polish People's Republic have the right to education." This right has been ensured by:

(1) the creation of a universal, free and compulsory system of elementary schooling;

(2) the constant expansion of general-education secondary schools, vocational schools and institutions of higher learning;

(3) help by the State providing further education for working adults in town and country;

(4) the provision of basic assistance for students (scholarships, boarding schools, etc.).

Of vital importance for the further development of education was the Law on the Development of the Educational System, passed by the Seym on 15 July 1961.

It was considered necessary to transform further the content of instruction and expand the role of the school in children's upbringing. The implementation of these tasks called for changes in the organization of the school system. It was therefore decided to extend elementary schooling to 8 years and to create thereby a better organizational and curricular foundation for those continuing beyond elementary level.

Curricular reform means enabling schools to adapt in accordance with the evolution of social relations and technological progress which are such characteristic traits of our era of unparalleled scientific and technological development and its attendant transformations in the social and economic structure of Poland and the world. A longer period of compulsory universal schooling, new curricula and, above all, improved working methods, should make it possible for schools to reflect these transformations.

The changes introduced in education in People's Poland had visible effects on the formation of new social relations, on the population's general level of education, its cultural aspirations and living standards.

There are at present in Poland over 650,000 graduates of higher education establishments and nearly 6.5 million people with general or vocational secondary education.

As compared with the pre-war period, the number of people with higher education is 9 times higher, and of those with secondary education 8 times higher; the number of students is over 7 times higher, the number of students attending vocational schools almost 9 times higher, while the number of pupils in general-education secondary schools is almost twice as high.

In People's Poland, over one million people have graduated from general-education secondary schools, and more than 5 million skilled workers have graduated from vocational schools of all types.

This is generally recognized as one of the greatest achievements of People's Poland. The saturation of our economy with qualified personnel is today on a level with the world's leading countries.

Other achievements may also be noted. About 90 per cent of those who finish elementary school continue to study because the scope of general-education and vocational secondary schools has been greatly expanded. Young people of working-class and peasant origin account today for about 60 per cent of those attending secondary schools and for about 50 per cent of university students. Through the mass scale expansion of adult education, people already working have been given full opportunities of raising their standard of education and qualifications.

Government expenditure on education is systematically increasing. For example, in 1961 it amounted to 7.2 per cent of the state budget (i.e. 16,792.1 million zlotys), and in 1972 to about 9 per cent (i.e. 39,500 million zlotys).

Capital investment in schools at present accounts for about 2 per cent of total investment in the national economy. In the period 1956—71, Polish schools

4.1 Selections from "Education," Poland, A Handbook, Warsaw, Interpress Publishers, 1974, pp. 321-338

acquired 34,000 new class-rooms (as compared with 20,000 new class-rooms in the two inter-war decades), about 90,000 places in boarding schools were created, and about 60,000 new stations in the workshops of vocational schools. About 1,000 new school rooms are built in Poland annually. Apart from class-rooms, the new schools have well equipped work-rooms, gymnasia and sick-rooms. In rural schools, lodgings are provided for teachers.

Public initiative and generosity in support of schools has a fine record in our country, especially as far as the construction of new schools is concerned. In 1958, the idea was put forward to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of the Polish State by raising by public subscription a monument unique in the world: one thousand new schools. An appeal was made to the public and met with universal approval. The idea also reached many Polish centres abroad where fund-raising committees were organized; in some cases, a group of people of Polish descent would raise money for a school to be built in their place of origin. As a result of this project, Polish youth received over 1,400 new schools.

It is Polish teachers, however, who deserve the main credit for the achievements of today's Polish schools. Their enthusiasm, diligence and devotion are immeasurable. In the first post-war years, they taught under extremely hard circumstances, without textbooks and equipment, often labouring under difficult living conditions. It is thanks to the Polish teachers, above all, that the slogan "Poland — a country of learners" became a reality, with about 11 million people — or one-third of the population — taking part in various forms of education and training.

Polish schools maintain lively contacts with countries abroad. The past few years, in particular, have seen an interest, greater than ever before, in Polish education and schools.

Polish universities enjoy increasing popularity among young people from abroad, especially those of Polish descent. For example, in the session 1971/72, 2,745 foreigners studied in Polish institutions of higher learning, 416 at the Polish Language School in Łódź, 445 in secondary vocational schools, while 381 were engaged in post-graduate work.

Among those studying in higher schools, the most numerous groups consist of students from socialist countries (1,603) and from the developing countries (993). The subjects preferred are technology, the humanities and medicine.

Among the many forms of cooperation with other countries in the field of education, one in particular is of great importance and deserves to be mentioned: the comparative analysis of textbooks, especially for history and geography. Work in this direction has already been done in collaboration with the Soviet Union, France and Rumania; it has been started with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Belgium, Norway and Austria.

☐ THE STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The organization and development of the school system are based on the principles of free, secular education, uniform organization and curricula, of universality of education, of equal access to schools of various types (without distinction of social origin, nationality, sex or religion), and of perviousness, which enables everyone to continue studying after completing any type or level of schooling.

The educational system comprises:
(1) pre-school education,
(2) general-education and vocational schools (elementary and secondary),
(3) institutions of higher education,
(4) other forms of educational activity.

The purpose of kindergarten education (which is not compulsory) is the child's all-round development and its preparation for school.

Kindergartens are State institutions run by People's Councils and work establishments, or civic institutions run by civic organizations.

General and vocational schooling embraces three main stages of study: elementary, secondary and higher.

Functioning at each of these stages is a system both of full-time studies and studies for working people. The eight-year period of elementary school is compulsory.

The organization of vocational schools is varied. There are several kinds of vocational schools, organized respectively on the basis of the elementary school, the basic vocational school, the secondary school, two classes of general-education secondary school, etc.

Vocational schools are the main form of education for young people after elementary school. With the exception of three private vocational schools, they are all State schools. They are administered by the Ministry of Education and by 23 other Ministries; e.g. the Ministry of Culture and Art runs art colleges, the Ministry of Mining runs mining academies, the Ministry of National Defence runs military colleges, the Ministry of Agriculture runs agricultural schools, etc. General-education secondary schools (called lycées) prepare pupils for higher education. Those are 4-year schools. With the exception of 9 private schools of this type, they are all State schools.

The supervision of schools is exercised by the Minister of Education.

The task of institutions of higher education consists in training specialists for the needs of all spheres of national economy and culture, and the conduct of scientific research. With the exception of two private institutions, all institutions of higher education are financed and run by the State.

Institutions of higher education fall into the following categories (the number of each type of school is given in brackets):

(1) universities (9),
(2) technical universities (10),
(3) medical academies (10),
(4) schools of economics (5),
(5) agricultural colleges (7),
(6) schools of pedagogics (3),
(7) colleges of physical education (6),
(8) art, music, art and drama colleges (16),
(9) theological seminaries (2),
(10) the Higher School of Social Sciences,
(11) the Catholic University of Lublin,
(12) colleges of engineering (8),
(13) maritime colleges (2),
(14) teacher-training colleges (8),
(15) military academies.

To be admitted to higher education, a candidate must produce a leaving certificate from secondary school and pass the entrance examination provided for his chosen course of study.

Institutions of higher education may conduct professional courses, master's degrees, doctor's degrees, post-graduate studies and professional refresher courses.

Vocational studies train highly-qualified specialists for the needs of the national economy and culture, and have separate curricula. Graduates obtain an engineer's diploma or some other professional title.

Studies for master's degrees train highly-qualified specialists prepared to exercise professions requiring scientific mastery of a specific field of knowledge, and to engage in scientific work and research. Graduates obtain the title of master, master-engineer, or physician.

POLISH EDUCATION IN FIGURES

	School Year		
	1937/38	1946/47	1972/73
Kindergartens			
No. of institutions [1]	1,659	2,738	9,302
No. of children (in thousands)	83.3	201.5	847.8
No. of teachers (in thousands)	2.2	3.7	31.1
Elementary Schools			
No. of schools [2]	28,778	30,119	24,843
No. of pupils (in thousands)	4,863.3	3,283.6	4,978.4
No. of graduates (in thousands)	127.1 [3]	143.7	681.6 [4]
No. of teachers (in thousands)	76.6	66.6	214.3
General-education Secondary Schools [5]			
No. of schools	777	785	877
No. of pupils (in thousands)	231.4	238.6	630.3
No. of graduates (in thousands)	15.2	13.3	97.6 [4]
No. of teachers (in thousands)	-	-	31.6
Vocational Schools			
No. of schools	-	-	9,314
No. of pupils (in thousands)	387.5	366.7	1,839.7
No. of graduates (in thousands)	61.1 [3]	46.9	434.9 [4]
No. of teachers (in thousands)	-	-	76.7
Institutions of Higher Education			
No. of schools [6]	31	84	88
No. of students (in thousands)	49.3	84.9	301.1
No. of graduates (in thousands)	6.1	4.1	86.1 [4]
No. of teachers and scientific workers (in thousands)	-	-	30.3

[1] Permanent institutions only
[2] Data for the school year 1938/37
[3] Excluding schools for working people
[4] Data for the school year 1971/73
[5] Excluding higher military schools

The degrees of doctor and doctor habilitatis in a given discipline or field of knowledge are conferred by higher education or research institutions.

The titles of assistant professor and professor are conferred (for life) by the Council of State.

The organizational units into which institutions of higher education are divided include: faculties, corresponding to broad areas of study, institutes, departments, autonomous institutes, auxiliary institutes, laboratories, research groups, research stations, libraries, etc.

Supervision of the proper fulfilment by the above mentioned organizational units of teaching tasks rests with the Rector and Senate.

☐ ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The main achievements of the elementary school system in People's Poland include the universal availability of elementary education in spite of the current demographic explosion, the elimination of harmful differences between urban and rural schools (the former being superior in organization), the improvement of working conditions for teachers, the introduction of new syllabuses, and a considerable improvement in the qualifications of elementary-school teachers. The whole country is covered today by a network of 8-year elementary schools with a uniform syllabus. Practically every child of school age is attending 8-year elementary school.

The reformed elementary school is intended to assure pupils of a uniform education, comprising knowledge of nature and social life, of the history and culture of Poland and mankind, to give them a preliminary acquaintance with technology, to prepare them for taking part in social and cultural life, to provide a foundation for further studies or to enable them to acquire additional qualifications while working.

The modern character of the reformed school is also reflected in the emphasis on technology in education, in the tendency to give pupils elementary technological knowledge.

Emphasis is put on the use of modern methods in instruction, such as observation, practical training, experimenting — and, in the humanities — the pupil's own work with books. Classes held in the laboratory, in the workshop, in the library, on the school's garden plot, at excursions — are added to the wide range of means aimed at stimulating the pupil's own activity, at developing his independent thinking and acting, at encouraging him to educate himself.

Modern teaching methods require a large number of adequately trained teachers. As compared to the pre-war period, considerable progress has taken place. In the year 1937/38, the number of teachers employed in public elementary schools amounted to 76,648. In the year 1972/73 it came to 214,300. Before the war, in the school year 1937/38, there were 63.5 pupils for every one teacher, while at present there are only 23.2.

With the establishment of the first teacher-training colleges in 1968, the training of teaching personnel for elementary schools was raised to a higher standard. This constituted a new phase in the preparation of teachers for work in elementary schools.

In People's Poland, the system of special schools has developed considerably. Kindergartens and special schools are being organized for handicapped children, i.e. children with defects of sight and hearing, or who are blind, deaf, mentally retarded, chronically ill or crippled.

Beginning with the school year 1961/62, so-called special classes for mentally retarded children have been organized in some normal elementary schools.

Elementary instruction is also conducted in:

(1) artistic schools of the 1st degree where the syllabus comprises both specialized training (as in music or ballet schools) and general education; graduates of these schools have the same rights as graduates of elementary schools and may continue specialized studies in artistic schools of the 2nd degree (vocational secondary schools);

(2) elementary schools for working people, intended for those who have reached 18 years of age before completing elementary education. Courses are also organized, offering instruction within the curriculum of the elementary school. In the year 1972/73, the number of pupils studying in elementary schools for working people amounted to 48,500.

Those who complete elementary school may continue their studies in basic vocational schools of different types (schools of the 1st degree), as well as in general-education secondary schools, and in technical and vocational secondary schools (schools of the 2nd degree).

Some 90 per cent of those who complete elementary education proceed immediately to further studies. More than 20 per cent of these go to general-education secondary schools, while the remainder go to vocational schools.

☐ SECONDARY VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

The greatest expansion in People's Poland has been achieved by vocational schools. They have also done most to supply the national economy with highly-qualified specialists. Shortages in this respect were immense. For example, in 1945, Poland's average annual demand for technical, trade and administrative personnel with secondary vocational education was estimated at 75,000. This meant that the capacity of secondary vocational schools had to be increased 15 times.

The system of vocational education in Poland has been based on the principle of "perviousness", i.e. the possibility of passing from a school of any level to the next higher level, thus giving the student a chance to continue his studies up to university level. General instruction has been greatly expanded in the syllabus of vocational schools of all types.

As a result of the country's economic development, the need arose to organize vocational schools in lines which either had not existed in Poland before the war or else had not been sufficiently developed, such as mining, metallurgy, ship-building, automobile-making, railways and the power, chemical and textile industries.

The present system of vocational schools includes vocational training schools and basic vocational schools which train skilled workers, as well as full-fledged technical and vocational secondary schools. With a view to ensure further schooling for graduates of basic vocational schools, a network of 3-year technical schools — day, evening and extra-mural — has been developed.

The vocational training of adults takes place in the sections for working people, which function in some of the technical schools, and through studies of extra-mural technical courses. These forms of training make it possible for a worker to obtain the degree of technician without interrupting his regular work.

Factory schools and inter-factory schools have also been organized. They train workers in work establishments and for the needs of these establishments.

Agricultural education is also developing. Agricultural training schools are intended to prepare those young people remaining in the countryside for work in the farming profession. Technical schools have been organized for the most capable graduates of these schools.

In the category of basic vocational schools (of the 1st degree), which train skilled workers, special attention is paid to developing schools in the fields of electromechanics and electronics, which train workers for such occupations as measuring-apparatus electrician, mechanic dealing with semi-conductor elements, control and measuring apparatus mechanic etc. This arises out of the fast pace at which the network of large power-generating stations and electrical and power industry plants is expanding in Poland.

The progress of automation, especially in the mining and building industries and in intra-factory transportation, accounts for the steady expansion of basic vocational schools training skilled workers for such occupations as those of machinist, operator and mechanic which are indispensable for the operation and maintenance of the machinery and equipment used in these industries.

In the category of technical and vocational secondary schools, in accordance with economic needs, and especially the needs of industry, the main emphasis has been on developing mechanical and electrical engineering schools, including schools for working people, training specialists in the fields of industrial measuring and automation, specialists in mechanization, mining, metallurgy, construction, chemical industry, machine-tool industry, shipbuilding and intra-factory transportation.

Dynamic growth has been registered by those vocational schools which are open to graduates of general-education secondary schools; they include economic, technical, agricultural, medical and maritime schools.

One should also mention the vocational schools organized for those pupils of general-education secondary schools who, after two years of study, decide to switch to vocational training. The so-called vocational secondary schools provide skilled workers with both specialist and general education. In 1971 the first vocational schools were established for workers who get two years paid leave in order to improve their qualifications.

The development of the reformed system of vocational schools is based on an adopted nomenclature of occupations and specialities, which takes into account the widest range of achievements in technological and economic progress. The nomenclature lists 220 specialized occupations for workers and 243 specialized occupations for technicians. It takes into account future personnel needs resulting from the development of the national economy and technological progress.

Vocational schools use modern aids and scientific equipment in their labo-

ratories and workshops and practice exercises are organized in a modern way.

The dimension and scope of national education may be given in absolute figures. Thus for example right after the war, in 1945/46, in vocational schools of all types there were 171,200 students, in 1950/51 this figure had grown to 634,700, while in 1960/61 it had reached 794,200. At present these schools have over 1.8 million students.

The proportion at present is such that for every pupil admitted to a general-education secondary school, there are about five pupils at vocational schools. This also illustrates the place of vocational schools in our educational system.

☐ GENERAL-EDUCATION SECONDARY SCHOOLS

These schools provide young people with a general education at the secondary level. Graduates who have passed the final examination obtain a certificate of maturity entitling them to seek admission to higher education. The remainder receive a certificate of having completed secondary school.

On 1 September 1967 a new first grade was created for the reformed 4-year general-education secondary school based on the curriculum of the 8-year elementary school. The educational cycle which ends with the final (maturity) examination was thereby prolonged by one year and now lasts 12 years.

The content and methods of instruction have been modernized. The syllabuses of the various subjects take into account modern didactic tendencies, especially with regard to the integration of knowledge in related disciplines; they include the information theory, the science of labour organization and the psychology of learning. These syllabuses envisage the use of ways and means aimed at making young people participate actively in the educational process and at combining theory with practice.

Graduates of general-education secondary schools acquire full qualifications for practising a profession in institutions of higher education, in post-secondary schools and at vocational courses.

In the reformed general-education secondary school, about 42 per cent of the time allocated to the basic syllabus, taken by all pupils, is devoted to the humanities (Polish, Russian, one West-European language, history, sociology).

About 35 per cent of the time is devoted to mathematics and the natural sciences including physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology and geography.

9.5 per cent of the time allocated to subjects compulsory for all pupils, is devoted to technical education.

A total of 13.5 per cent of the time is devoted to artistic subjects, physical education and military defence training.

Various measures have been taken in People's Poland to make general-education secondary schools accessible to working-class and peasant children. Schools of this type have been established in working-class centres, on the outskirts of cities, in smaller towns and in larger villages. A system of scholarships has been created and the network of boarding-schools and dormitories expanded.

The number of general-education secondary schools is growing from year to year. Thus in 1950/51 there were 764 of them, in 1960/61 there were 841, in 1963/64 there were 853 and at present there are 877.

Within the framework of a uniform organization and curriculum various forms are being introduced in these schools, which are aimed at developing the talents of particularly gifted pupils. Such a role is played by schools with an extended programme of instruction in mathematics.

In order to search out the most talented pupils, "Olympiads" are organized every year in mathematics, chemistry and physics.

There are also general-education secondary schools with instruction in a foreign language: Russian, English, French or German. In these schools, apart from regular lessons, various special classes are held, also in a given foreign language.

In the year 1972/73, 138,300 pupils were attending general-education secondary schools for working people. Graduates of general-education secondary schools for working people have the same rights as graduates of schools of similar type and level.

☐ HIGHER EDUCATION

Throughout the post-war period, institutions of higher education have placed at the disposal of the national economy an over 600-thousand-strong cadre of professional people, they have educated and trained for research or teaching large numbers of scientific personnel, and have developed extensive research.

Already in 1944, with Polish territory still the scene of fierce fighting, the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University was established in Lublin. In 1945, other higher education establishments began to function. In 1972/73, 88 institutions of higher learning (plus 13 subordinate institutes) were functioning in Poland (not counting military academies).

In the inter-war period, higher education was concentrated in Warsaw and a few larger cities like Cracow or Poznań. Poland's second biggest city, Łódź, had no institutions of higher education at all, nor did Silesia, Poland's most industrialized region. In People's Poland today all voivodships have institutions of higher education.

In developing the network of such establishments, the trend consists in bringing them closer to the working-class regions of industrial concentration and to agricultural areas, in eliminating white spots on the map of cultural development in the various parts of the country. This helps to strengthen the relationship between higher education and the specific needs of the various economic regions and also to make it accessible to broad masses of youth; it facilitates the process of employing graduates in accordance with emerging needs, and helps raise the general cultural and political standard of regions once neglected and of great importance for the national economy.

Particularly noteworthy is the development of higher education in the western and northern voivodships where, according to 1939 data, a total of 10 German institutions of higher education were functioning, with an enrolment of

slightly over 6,000 students (one university, two technical universities, six teachers' colleges and one philosophical and theological academy). As a result of hostilities, only the ruins remained of most of these schools. In spite of the immense destruction and personnel and housing difficulties seven institutions of higher education in these territories opened their doors in the first year after the war. Today the same region boasts 27 such institutions plus 4 branches. Their total enrolment exceeds 100,000 students, nearly 63,000 of whom were engaged in full-time studies (i.e. about 30 per cent of the total number of students in the country). Higher education in the western and northern voivodships offers nearly all modern lines of study and specialities, and the teaching personnel of these schools holds a high place in Polish science. Throughout the country the achievements of Wrocław mathematicians, of Gliwice specialists in automation, of Gdańsk ship-builders, Olsztyn agronomists, of Szczecin specialists in sea-fishery are well known.

The reconstruction of the national economy, social and cultural changes and scientific and technological progress, have brought about not only a quantitative growth in the demand for specialists with higher education but also changes in the pattern of student preferences. At present, 56 per cent of all students study technical, agricultural, mathematical and scientific subjects (as compared with 39.9 per cent in the pre-war period). The above-mentioned show the highest rate of growth.

In addition to full-time studies, other forms, unknown in pre-war Poland, have been developed: evening and extra-mural classes, attended without interruption of regular work. In the academic year 1972/73, courses of this kind were attended by 135,000 persons, or 37 per cent of all students. In the entire post-war period, about 200,000 persons have graduated from courses for working people.

The growing numbers of graduates made it possible to increase the index of personnel with higher education per 100 people employed in the nationalized economy from 3.8 in 1958 to 5.5 in 1971. The adopted plans for the expansion of higher education for the years 1971—75 will raise this index to 7.3 by 1975. It will reach about 7.8 by 1980.

According to preliminary plans, in 1975 there will be about 335,000 students benefiting from higher education, (excluding military academies) including both regular courses and courses for working people (but not counting part-time studies). Taking also into account the estimated number of people taking extra-mural courses, it is envisaged that in 1975, we shall have about 114 students per 10,000 of the population (as compared with 109 in 1972/73).

With a view to meeting the most urgent needs of the national economy and culture, we shall be concentrating over the next few years on expansion of mathematical and physical, technological, engineering and economic courses and, more specifically such specializations as applied mathematics, technological and experimental physics, radiation chemistry, electronics, industrial biology, mechanization and electrification of agriculture, nutrition technology, organization of data processing, etc.

The years 1968—71 saw a reorganization of the structure of higher education. Institutes or groups of departments were established in order to create conditions for the integration of staff and to make fuller use of the material means at the disposal of the various colleges and universities.

In the sphere of research, the task of higher education establishments consists in further increasing their share in solving the research problems comprised in the plans of the economic ministries. Suitable organization and equipment will also contribute to the development of new lines of research, and the mastery of new research methods and techniques.

Young university staff attend so-called assistants' preparatory courses (about 1,000 persons) and doctoral courses inaugurated three years ago (about 4,500 persons). About 2,500 persons annually obtain doctor's degrees, while the title of assistant professor is conferred annually on about 300 persons.

For ten years now, universities and colleges have also been conducting graduate studies which are the main form of improving and bringing up to date the knowledge of people with higher education employed in the various branches of national economy.

According to the draft 5-year plan, the number of people admitted to graduate studies will grow from 6,300 in 1969 to over 16,000 in 1975. Within the 5-year period 1971—75, over 67,000 people will attend graduate courses, mainly technical and agricultural.

☐ CHILD AND YOUTH CARE

Concern for the child — for its health, education, cultural recreation, and an ever better and fuller satisfaction of all its needs — has become in our country the common cause of the whole society.

Here is a brief summary of achievements in this regard: 2.5 million children enjoy organized summer holidays, about one million children take part in extracurricular activities, over 370,000 children and young people take advantage of boarding schools and student hostels, 900,000 are covered by pre-school care, and about 550,000 receive scholarships.

Day nurseries admit children between the ages of six weeks and three years. Depending on the character of the mother's job, the child can be left in the day nursery under expert care of medical and pedagogical personnel for 8 to 12 hours a day or, if the situation calls for it, it can be left in the so-called week nursery and be taken home for Sunday only. In 1972, there were in Poland 1,084 nurseries caring for 70,000 children.

Kindergartens are the basic form of school for children from 3 to 6 years of age. In 1972, 900,800 children, or about one third of all children in the above age-bracket, were availing themselves of all forms (permanent and seasonal) of pre-school education.

The forms of pre-school education vary in accordance with the possibilities of the State and the needs of parents. There are permanent kindergartens, rural kindergartens organized during periods of intensified farm work — which function six months a year and are open to children from 2 to 10 years, kindergarten sections in elementary schools — for six-year-olds who are just about to enter school.

One of the tasks of the kindergartens is to prepare children for school education. In some kindergartens, children learn a foreign language: Russian, English, French or German.

Besides its didactic functions, schools have greatly expanded their tutelar and educational functions. They are concerned not only with proper standards

of instruction but also with providing children and young people with a proper upbringing, with their security and physical development, their leisure and recreation. Corresponding to the range of these duties is the diversity of forms of care provided in schools.

Thus for example, the care of these children who, because of the employment of both parents, have to stay at school after hours, is ensured in elementary schools mainly by day-rooms, a semi-boarding system, and extracurricular occupations, and in secondary schools by special centres.

Pupils attending secondary schools situated far from their homes live in as boarders and students in student hostels.

In the school year 1972/73, there were 282,100 pupils living in 1,845 boarding schools including 70—75 per cent of children from villages and new towns; there were 96,791 students or about 42.9 per cent of all those doing full-time courses, living in 365 student hostels.

It is not yet possible to meet all requirements for boarding school places. The needs are great. Society comes to the assistance of the State in the building of boarding schools. Until the extensive programme of construction of new boarding schools is implemented, there will exist the problem of pupils commuting to school or living in lodgings under the supervision of the school.

Special railway cars marked "For schools", day-rooms at railway stations (144 such day-rooms are used by some 25,000 commuting pupils), school canteens, higher allowances — these are a few examples of the present forms of aid to commuting pupils.

Another form of material aid is the system of scholarships, which is greatly developed in Poland.

In elementary schools, scholarships are granted to pupils whose homes are more than 3 km. away from school and who are in straitened circumstances. In the year 1972/73, a total of 28,000 pupils of elementary schools received scholarships.

Scholarships for secondary-school pupils account for more than 28 per cent of all expenditure on child care. In general-education secondary schools, about 38,000 pupils (or 8.4 per cent of the total) benefit from scholarships; in vocational schools the figure is 259,000 pupils (or 29.2 per cent of the total).

88,409 university and college students are covered by the scholarship system, i.e. 39.2 per cent of all those attending full-time courses and 127,900 students receive grants to cover the costs of accommodation and meals.

All school children and students are covered by free medical care. To cope with the resulting needs, a School and University Health Service has been established.

The tutelar and educational activity of the school extends to the pupils' leisure time as well. Occupations organized in schools outside of lesson hours not only have a recreational character but an educational value as well. Hobby and interest circles broaden the pupil's intellectual horizons, stimulate his interests, and help him reach a proper decision in his choice of specialization and, ultimately, of a career.

Every year "Olympiads" are organized for particularly talented pupils in mathematics, humanities, physics and chemistry, under the guidance of the

appropriate learned associations. The winners of these Olympiads are admitted to the appropriate university course, without entrance examination.

With the assistance of youth organizations, Olympiads of knowledge about Poland and the world are also organized. Their subject matter is related to current social and political problems.

This kind of activity conducted by the schools apart from formal instruction is complemented by activities organized by institutions of extra-school education. There are functioning at present five palaces of youth, 34 youth community centres, and 96 houses of culture for children and young people. A total of about 150,000 children and young people take part in their activities.

Students engage in various forms of organized amateur artistic activity on campus; there also exist various clubs. About 200 student artistic groups of various kinds (dramatic, vocal, musical, cabaret, etc.) enjoy the sponsorship of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. Student scientific activities are also lively. About 20,000 students take active part in the work of scientific circles.

The organization of summer and winter holidays plays an important role in child and youth care. In the past few years, about 2.5 million children and young people annually have been benefiting by these holidays. In addition, some 3,000 children of Polish descent from France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, spend their holidays in Poland every year. Special holiday camps are also organized for crippled children needing special care.

Pupils of elementary and secondary schools, belonging to tourist or nature preservation clubs, etc. organize their own hiking excursions on days free from school, take part in tourist rallies, competitions and contests. The school tourist movement has its own accommodation network of permanent and seasonal tourist hostels.

☐ CURRENT PROBLEMS

The school of tomorrow will be determined by the present system of education. No wonder, therefore, that lively discussions are taking place on these problems. Particular interest has been aroused by the results of the work of the Committee of Experts established in January 1971 and charged with the task of preparing a report on the state of education in Poland. It has also been announced that universal secondary education will be introduced before 1980. These two significant facts have defined the terms of reference of the debate on the present educational system and the difficulties that have to be overcome in order to ensure the general lines of its further development.

In February 1973, the Report of the Committee of Experts was considered at a special joint session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Presidium of the Government. It was announced that a discussion on the Report would be opened and that a decision on the further development of education in Poland would be taken by the end of 1973. The Report contains an assessment of the present system, the objectives this system ought to meet, as well as alternative proposals concerning the future. Without going into details, it should be stated that all these alternative proposals envisage universal secondary school education as a common basic principle.

The recommendations of the Committee stress that the school system should function in collaboration with other educational institutions. It should gradually be complemented by expanding the system of extracurricular education for adults, which is connected directly with work establishments, which in turn will take over some of the functions currently fulfilled by the schools.

The school system should implement fully the principles of universality, "perviousness", flexibility and provide a wide range of instruction. Flexibility is intended to make possible the development of individual talents. The school-day should, as far as it is possible, be extended so as to ensure supervision of the work done outside of lesson hours — especially desirable for weaker pupils — guide the development of individual talents and stimulate the interests of gifted pupils. At the same time, the school system should have its own institutions of educational and vocational guidance, to facilitate the rational choice of specialization.

The Report devotes much space to problems of curriculum, methods and forms of imparting knowledge and to child care. As a matter of course, the tasks of teachers in the realization of the new educational concept have been especially emphasized. The Report states that the training of teachers of all levels should be modernized so as to ensure that every teacher has an adequate knowledge of his subject and is in a position to select and use the best and most modern teaching methods. This can be achieved only by training teachers to the master's degree level.

The Report also calls for the universalization of kindergarten education, for the development of special schools for handicapped children and for the vocational training of those children who, for various reasons, will not be able to complete general secondary school.

It is also consistently emphasized that schools, while being the basic element of the educational system, are not its only component. This is why much space in the Report has been devoted to proposals aimed at improving the work of those extraschool institutions which should collaborate closely with the school system (e.g. the health services, youth and social organizations, work establishments, mass media, etc.).

The publication of the Report, the broad public discussion it has aroused, and the taking of specific decisions concerning the future of the Polish school system — mark a turning point in the history of education in People's Poland.

At a session of the Seym held on 13 October 1973 a resolution was passed concerning the further development of the educational system in People's Poland.

According to this resolution:

(1) The chief element in the reformed school system should be the universal 10-year secondary comprehensive school, which will assure young people of an equal start in life and will have a uniform curriculum in both town and country.

(2) Kindergarten education ought gradually to be made universal in both town and country. In the first instance kindergarten education should be extended to all children at least a year before they begin formal schooling.

(3) The system of vocational education should be based on the 10-year universal comprehensive school. Courses in vocational schools (including those attached to work establishments) are to last from six months to two years.

(4) Those who finish 10-year secondary school will be able either to take up

employment or to continue their education. Candidates for higher education will attend two year specialization schools by way of preparation.

(5) The following categories will be accepted into institutions of higher education: particularly able pupils and winners of school Olympiads and competitions immediately upon completion of 10-year secondary school; those who have finished two year specialization or vocational school; those who have finished 10-year secondary school after at least two years' exemplary work as a paid employee or two years of exemplary military service.

"The Seym requests the government", reads the Resolution, "to present the draft of a bill concerning the system of national education, which will realize and develop the postulates laid down in the Seym's resolution..."

Thus the discussion on the future of education is not closed with the above Resolution. The next two years will be devoted to working out the details of the future model of Polish education. It is therefore worth exploring those factors and long-term forecasts which determine the direction to be taken by educational transformations, have a direct impact on the present and future shape of our school system and indicate the scale of the effort necessary to meet these long-term needs.

These needs are considerable and it is hard to decide the order of their importance. The requirements of the scientific and technological revolution are closely intertwined with Poland's demographic prospects, with the need to provide youth with a better preparation for life and for further study, with the demands with which the problems of permanent education present the school system.

In elementary education, the factor which will determine the situation as regards universal education over the next few years is the demographic depression.

The demographic forecasts show that in the period 1970—80, the number of children from 7 to 15 years of age will decrease by nearly one million, from 5,813,100 to 4,647,000. The proportions of urban to rural population will change. In the same period, the number of children in rural areas will drop from 3,120,200 to 2,670,000, while in the towns the drop will be from 2,692,900 to 1,977,000.

The effects of this depression will be quite different in town and country. In towns, the effects will be rather positive. The smaller number of pupils should relieve the congestion in over-crowded class-rooms.

The situation in rural schools is incomparably worse. The depression upsets the established structure of the elementary school network. In many districts, the number of pupils is falling below the existing norms. The reconstruction of the network of rural elementary schools, now under way, is therefore aimed at merging schools that are too small and creating in their place schools with a higher organizational structure.

In April 1972, the Seym of the Polish People's Republic — while establishing in the place of the hitherto existing single Ministry of Education and Higher Learning, two Ministries: one of Education and one of Science, Higher Education and Technology — also adopted a new Charter of Teachers' Rights and Obligations. The Charter places the teaching profession high in the social hierarchy, regulates many of the problems connected with this profession, and creates conditions encouraging people to enter it. The salaries of all teachers were raised by an average of 40 per cent, those teaching in villages and new

towns were granted free accommodation, etc. It is expected that these and other privileges will attract the most gifted graduates of secondary schools to the teaching profession. Since 1970, all who intend to enter the teaching profession, study in teachers' training colleges. This means that every teacher starting work in a school in 1973/74 will have higher education.

Without waiting for the results of the work of the Committee of Experts, the Ministry of Education has worked out a three-year programme of instruction (for the years 1972—75) with special emphasis laid on bringing the standards of work in schools of all types into line with one another. The point is simply to ensure that, a few years from now, when the general modernization of the Polish educational system begins and secondary school becomes universal and compulsory for all, young people will not be leaving ineffectively run elementary schools with low standards of knowledge and hence poor qualifications. Thus ensuring an equal start is a basic condition for the success of the plans for the future reconstruction of the school system.

The programme covers, among other things, the following tasks: the spread of pre-school education on a scale which would enable every child to enter kindergarten at least one year before going to school; extension of the network of special schools to the extent necessary in order to cover all children requiring special care; systematic improvement of the qualifications of teachers; a reform of primary education; modernization of the type of school-equipment available; raising of teaching standards in rural schools, etc.

The establishment of consolidated schools at commune level was an important decision. These are 8-year full elementary schools in rural areas, with branches in the various villages subordinated to the headmaster of the consolidated school. Teachers employed in consolidated schools have higher education and high professional qualifications.

A similar programme has been worked out for vocational schools. It is estimated, for example, that about 20 per cent of all buildings of vocational schools are not utilized rationally. It was therefore decided that, as comprehensive schools are developed, smaller schools of limited effectiveness should gradually be eliminated. Comprehensive schools should carry on consolidated, versatile forms of instruction — e.g. day instruction, evening instruction, instruction in shifts, extra-mural instruction — at elementary, full secondary and post-secondary level.

A separate problem in vocational education consists in maintaining a balance in the training of boys and girls for the various professions and specializations.

A basic problem which has to be solved as soon as possible is the adjustment of vocational education to the present and future requirements of modern production. The tendency is, therefore, to abandon training vocational-school pupils in excessively narrow specializations and to turn to more general training. This would enable school leavers to adapt themselves faster than heretofore to new production conditions, or simply to re-qualify for new jobs should the plant in which they are employed switch to producing something else. And these, indeed, are the prospects raised by the era of scientific and technological revolution.

It is envisaged that general-education secondary schools will be transformed into more specialized secondary schools with emphasis laid on such specializations as mathematics, natural sciences, technology, social and economic sciences, and the humanities respectively. These secondary schools should be run in cooperation with institutions of higher education for which they constitute a natural recruitment base. For instance, instruction in the higher classes of these schools should be, as far as possible, given by university and college professors and lecturers, and examinations should be held with the participation of university staff as members of the examination commissions. It is also proposed that teachers of those institutions of higher education which exercise patronage over specific secondary schools should be invited to sit on the educational boards of the latter.

These and other endeavours contribute to make our school system more flexible, and to adapt it to the needs of the dynamically changing realities. The conviction prevails, however, that all the present changes are only clearing the ground for the comprehensive reform of the educational model.

Andrzej Świecki

NEW VILLAGE SCHOOL

Mikołaj Kozakiewicz

For a quarter of a century after the war the Polish education system was one of the country's treasures and prides. In comparison with the prewar period spectacular progress had been recorded: a great majority of children had opportunities to continue school attendance past the elementary level (now extended to an eight-year course, with 89 per cent of leavers moving on to a higher stage, including 35 per cent in secondary schools) and there was a vast increase in university places. This has made it possible to make compulsory secondary education a target for 1985. And yet, when following the political changes of December 1970, there began a search for sources of renovating and accelerating socio-economic development, education was the first field to come under scrutiny. A Committee of Experts was appointed by the government to analyse the situation and make recommendations for changes. 'Diagnosis and therapy' sum up the tasks placed before the Committee — whose chairman was the distinguished sociologist Professor Jan Szczepański.

After two years of inquiry the Committee of Experts has now delivered its report. Reserving fuller information on its contents and the reforms it proposes for a later date, we now wish to draw our readers' attention to the problem of village schools — an important element in both the diagnosis and the therapy outlined by the panel.

The countryside and agriculture, let us recall, continue to play a major role in Poland's economy. As many as 48 per cent of the country's total population live in villages, 29.5 per cent depend on farming for their livelihood, and over 35 per cent of all gainfully employed work in agriculture. It also accounts for a large part of national income. Consequently, all that is going on in the countryside is bound to affect the socio-economic situation of the country as a whole.

In the past few years concern with the countryside (particularly its cultural and educational situation) has grown considerably as

4.2 Kozakiewicz, Mikolaj, "New Village School," Polish Perspectives, Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1973, pp. 34-38

a result of certain demographic processes affecting the labour market. A steady decline in the urban birth-rate, has produced a market slump in the numbers of younger age groups — so that the rural areas will grow in the years 1975-90 into the main reservoir of both labour and personnel for schools at all levels. This is due to much higher fertility rates (8.3 in villages as against 5.2 in towns) and the almost twice bigger size of village families. This being so, the villagers who are still in their cradles or in nursery schools will in some 15-20 years from now have to go to work in factories or services in towns. And it goes without saying that with the speedily progressing modernization, automation, etc., of production processes these will be highly specialized jobs. This is why the educational authorities have come to the conclusion that children and young people in the villages must already begin to acquire the skills the labour market will need in 15-20 years. For without an influx of a young and highly skilled labour force from the countryside Polish towns would be faced about 1990 with a severe crisis in the field of employment.

We have mentioned only the socio-economic aspect of the matter, leaving aside the cultural and ideological arguments, as these can be taken as read in a country building socialism.

Although expansion of village education is an undoubted success, its quality has long been a source of concern. The most important deficiencies, which the envisaged reform is expected to eliminate, can be summarized as follows:

— A high drop-out rate: although elementary education is compulsory an average of 10 per cent of each intake fail to complete the eight-year course.

— School retardation: this has been much more frequent in villages than in towns; as many as 20-30 per cent of every age group, particularly boys, fall back a year or more.

— Teaching standards in the countryside were much lower than in towns, so that the number of elementary school leavers admitted to secondary schools and, later, to universities was, respectively, a half and a quarter of that of schoolchildren in towns. This was due to the poorer equipment of these schools, the lower qualifications of staff, and finally, the cultural lag in the environment.

— Apart from this intellectual barrier village children were handicapped in more ambitious plans by another obstacle: the high costs of secondary education (despite its being free) arising from the necessity to travel some distance to school. As a result they tended to plump

for schools offering training in manual skills (as these were nearer and had shorter courses) and keep away from ones which were further away and took more time to complete. These were not, needless to say, the only maladies to be found (despite the tremendous progress made in comparison with the prewar period) in the school system in the countryside, but they are enough to explain the attention given both by the Committee of Experts in their Report and the educational authorities to reform of rural education.

What form will this new blueprint take? How will the new village school differ from the old one? The first major feature of the reform is its comprehensiveness. Whereas all the previous ones were of a stop-gap and piecemeal nature, it embraces the whole of the educational system in the countryside and will introduce a completely new type of all-round educational and cultural institution.

The official traditional designation of 'commune school' hardly does justice to the essence of the reform and it would be more aptly called a 'commune educational and cultural centre' since it is not simply a normal school but a set of educational, welfare and cultural institutions which are to be opened in all the new administrative subdivisions ('communes') to be formed from the consolidation of the old ones under a reform of local government.

The innovation lies in treating the area of the new commune as the basic unit of public — and school — administration. The 'commune school principal' will be at once the administrative, educational, personnel and economic head of all schools in the commune. The hitherto scattered and outlying villages will retain only 'branch schools' (Grades I-IV) — and only if they are too far away from the 'commune school' for very small children to make the journey. Beginning with Grade V all pupils will either be bussed to the commune's educational-cultural centre or be given places in hostels. Thus the commune school will become a vigorous, well-equipped all-in elementary-education unit.

In addition to this elementary school, every commune will have a full-course secondary one (by 1990 there will, in fact, be no other kind anywhere in the country) as well as a number of vocational schools adapted to the needs of the commune and catering for trades useful both to the local agricultural economy and for work in towns. Thus it will be a veritable combine of general-education and vocational schools that will do away with the 'distance barrier' standing in the way of attendance of secondary schools, which are now almost without exception situated in towns — and will lower the 'economic barriers' we have mentioned before.

But this is not all that is new about the 'commune school.' The educational and cultural centre will also include some sections previously unknown in village schools. Every commune school will have an attendant psychologist, careers guidance, and medical services and special facilities will be organized for mentally deficient, backward or infirm children in need of special care and teaching methods. In addition, it will be equipped with amenities like cinemas, theatres and lecture halls, which will help it to fulfill its culture-forming role among the adult community. In any case, even in purely educational matters, the centre will cater not only for children but also for adults, acting as a base for 'life-long' education in various fields and on various levels. Naturally, apart from this qualitative change in the organizational structure of the village school, it is planned to modernize radically the curricula and methods of instruction. This, however, is beyond the scope of this article.

Are these plans well-considered and to the point? Beyond any doubt. Are they easy? Far from it, but we are aware of the difficulties and prepared to overcome them.

Some of them will be a matter of resources, others of staff. For a start there is a lack of premises that can serve so wide a range of functions — education, culture, welfare — never before performed by a single institution in our country, least of all in villages. Architects will be expected to supply a variety of standard designs for buildings which can be adapted to local conditions and subsequently enlarged to accommodate the various sections of the commune school. Nobody expects, of course, that they can all be put into operation overnight. For what is needed is not just a single (but bigger) building for one school, but a rationally planned complex of buildings for many schools, laboratories, study rooms, offices, etc. In the course of time as many as 2,000 such compounds will have to be built in Poland. Naturally, not all of them have to be built from scratch, since in many cases use can be made of the existing facilities. But even so, according to the estimates of the Institute of Education Research, in 50 per cent of the 2,000 commune schools additional room must be provided for welfare and physical education facilities, in 30 per cent of the communes new buildings must be erected, and 20 per cent of the existing buildings must be converted and enlarged. The available equipment — school aids, laboratory apparatus and equipment for spe-

cialized and vocational training — will have to be increased by 80 per cent. All these improvements will involve heavy expenditures.

Even more difficult are problems of staff. Finding 2,000 principals — all of whom must have a university degree and long teaching experience — will in itself be hard enough, for people with these qualifications will not willingly agree to settle in a village. And what about recruiting psychologists, teachers with experience in special education, school doctors, etc., when there are so many jobs for them to choose from in the towns where there are attractions and amenities not to be found in a village? These difficulties, although undeniably enormous, are also, however, a measure of the huge scale — and novelty — of the whole operation.

It will also be necessary to overcome the ingrained reservations and fears of many village teachers for whom the new concept of commune schools involves too many innovations to be easily digested and accepted.

The authorities have already begun to set up commune schools wherever conditions seem favourable. So far by way of experiment 100 such schools have been established to serve as proving grounds for the new organization structure, even before the reform of curricula and teaching methods.

THE NEW SHAPE OF EDUCATION

(An Interview with Professor Szczepański)

After two years of work the Committee of Experts has concluded its Report on the State of Education. Its main recommendations are now being debated, not only by specialists but by wide sections of public opinion. Below we print an interview with Professor Jan Szczepański, the distinguished sociologist who was chairman of the Committee, discussing the major points of the envisaged reform of the educational system. In coming numbers we will deal in greater detail with these important matters.

I suggest we begin with some general points, the basic aims of the reform, its spirit...

The best thing will be to take an example and look at the demographic and employment forecasts. In the 1971-75 quinquennium the national economy will take on 1,000,000 new workers, 1,200,000 in the next one and only 400,000 in the one after that. But these people will have to maintain the same rate of growth. *They must be of calibre to give the economy as much as it gets from those 1,800,000 additions to its work-force in the current quinquennium.* Another equally important question is the sort of society these people are to be groomed and educated for? What kind of attitudes and aspirations should they have? Is it to be one more consumer-oriented, affluent society, or something else again? Is it to represent a different system of values, one that doesn't see acquisition as the be-all and end-all but also sets store by cultural values? We want it to be the latter, to give everyone the chance of enriching his inward life, his personality as he sees best. These are the basic aims of the reform. The quality of people. And they are a measure of the size of the challenge.

When we embarked on our Report we tried to form a picture of Poland's socio-economic development at the end of our century and the probable changes in the structure of our society, a vista of an advanced socialist community in its social and cultural, scientific and technological dimensions. From this we deduced the guidelines for the education system and the tasks of the schools: how, we asked ourselves, can education in the broadest sense be best made to serve the

4.3 Szczepanski, Jan (Interviewed), "The New Shape of Educatio
Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVI, No. 6, June 1973, pp. 1

pursuance of our socio-economic and political objectives and, conversely, what social, cultural, political and economic forces inherent in a socialist society will be shaping the system of education?

I would add one more point: Poland's place in the world.

Certainly. You probably remember that back in 1969 I raised a squawk about this question of Poland's place in the world. In the Committee we pondered the direct consequences of our international position for the system of education, for the training of the people we need to get along in various international set-ups, and, on the other hand, also the implications of the position we would like to have. Some ideas on this subject have been included in the Report. These are extremely difficult matters. In any case here, too, it all depends on the quality of human material.

In other words, the quality of education in general... How, for that matter, do you rate the potential of our schools? The Committee, I take it, must have made an assessment of the effectiveness of the present system?

We came to the conclusion it cannot cope on its own with all the problems involved in the training and education of the citizens of a society of the future. Personally I have always strongly emphasized that in the modern world the schools, in every political system, and so in Poland as well, are running out of steam. This is why we want to reinforce the system with a mechanism coordinating all educative institutions in the country. Not that we are recommending putting everything that impinges on education or the formation of human personality under the Ministry of Education. All we are after is for the whole community to be wedded to roughly the same or similar educational ideals, methods of personality development, behaviour patterns and standards of judgement — so that the influence of, for example, school and factory do not cancel each other out.

But let us dwell briefly on the schools themselves — or rather their failures and shortcomings. The ideal of an educative society implies the provision of both knowledge and character-training. What do you think are the basic deficiencies of our educational system?

What we need are well equipped, all-in schools. *These plus boarding or bussing facilities are one of the basic conditions for the democratization of the school system.* Then there is the problem of teachers. Here there are some contradictory tendencies. Paradoxically, specialization leads to the teacher becoming a kind of impersonal conveyor of a narrow stream of knowledge, communicating in the period at his disposal only what he has to communicate — and ignoring everything else. *Thus what matters is to restore to the teacher his function of an educator interested in, and influencing, the entire personality of his charge,* not merely a specialized portion of his mind. *Next, there is the problem of equal opportunities in education.* One great fault of our schools is that they tend to waste talent and reduce pupils' gifts to mediocrity. In the first two or three grades every child seems a draftsman of genius, but by Grade 7 only some of them can draw well. In the first or second grade every child can be taught many different subjects — provided, of course, that he is not a very slow learner or mentally deficient. *This is why we would like to introduce the principle of individual education.* On the other hand we realize that both the slow learners and the exceptionally bright children are few. It is the mass in between which determines the average level of the nation's education. It is therefore necessary to find ways of stimulating this mass of middlings.

Finally, there is the matter of administration, from nursery school up to universities. It is really too bad that no-one has thought of training managerial staff for schools. *They learn the ropes as they go along, quite haphazardly — by the crudest methods known in the history of human work. And so they are inclined to repeat rather than innovate.* No offence to our university principals. I was one myself and made the same silly mistakes. I had no idea of what I should do to change things because I thought they were all right as they were. It is the same in the schools: the administrators are either teachers who are officials trained on the job or officials who are teachers trained on the job... We must devise ways and means to train school principals. Failing this, the reform will get stuck on the conditioning and aptitudes to the present administration.

In all these matters the Committee has made some specific suggestions — and to some of them I would like to revert later; but most of these call for tremendous changes not only in the school itself.

This is why we have put forward the idea of a policy involving not merely the school system but the whole of the 'educative community'. What we want is a system supported directly and in a coordinated manner by a network of extramural teaching institutions, and harmonized with the parallel forms of education. What we sug-

gest is a neighbourhood school, an open school, linked with cultural institutions — not to make culture a schoolroom affair but to make the schoolroom a cultural affair... These are extremely difficult questions. The basic concepts of educational policy have to be translated into the language of specific legislation. *And the spirit of these general concepts sits uneasily with bye-laws and regulations* which in Poland have tended to eliminate the leeway it requires from their rigid and formalized provisions. This will be a major task for our lawyers: to devise a legal system in which the spirit of these general concepts will not be wasted. Another big problem is to interpret the general ideas of educational policy in terms of school curricula, the organization and style of teaching, the system of teachers training, the daily practice of each school. Certain steps in this direction have already been taken — but the problem is an extremely difficult one, and at the same time everything depends on it.

I fear we have forgotten to mention one of the greatest failures of the schools: it seems to have lost touch with pupils, parents, society. It is in a sense estranged, and the reasons seem to be part and parcel of its very substance.

You mean the curricula?

The curricula as well. But what I have in mind above all is the approach to young people. We talk a lot about their socialization, the need to teach them to think for themselves, but in practice it all ends in inculcating obedience and observance of certain — not always essential — rules.

The point is simply this: the school should treat youth not as an object of education but as its subjects, its partner. The trouble is that the modernization of the school involves in itself a certain paradox: it commands an ever greater array of ever more effective influences. Without really knowing it, teachers come to believe that youth is not a partner because it does not understand either this new complex knowledge or the techniques of education. We have emphasized in our Report that youth is a major force which in many societies has succeeded in creating its own style of culture and in enforcing it on the community, and that it cannot be treated as material for technological processing at school. This will be a great and difficult problem. It is far from easy to translate all this into the specifics of curricula, organization and teaching methods.

But I am concerned with something more — the dissonance between what youth knows about reality, the world around it, between its aspirations and what it is offered at school. On the other hand — and this is probably even more important — if the school of the future is really to educate people and if we are to have one day an 'educative society', there must disappear that startling contrast between the ideal world about which they are taught at school and the real world of which they hear at home or in shops, of which they read in the papers and which they see on television. What they need is a clear and legible system of rights and obligations, awards and punishments, which corresponds to our sense of right and wrong.

These problems have been emphatically stressed in the Report. This is exactly why we propose a closely coordinated system of education — or, in other words, a unification of the standards in force throughout society as a whole. I am aware that this will be interpreted in a variety of ways. But it is a problem of decisive importance for the effectiveness of education. I feel, you know, that we have learnt to talk about education in a language so cliché-ridden, so dead, that it is blood-curdling. Some people think that didactic work simply means organizing the odd meeting and appointing someone to be responsible for education, the publication of a wall bulletin, etc. And yet education is the living substance of our daily life. The formative factors which count for most are *the ways in which the employee's work is actually judged, how the policy of wages and bonuses actually works, how promotion is dispensed, the grounds for penalizing and dismissing people.* This is the essential point in social education. But the school, too, has much to achieve in this field. Only it must be borne in mind that an isolated school achieves better didactic effects... when measured by school criteria. A school closer to life may achieve better effects in terms of daily life — but worse from the point of view of school criteria. Hence the tendency to isolation.

We will do our best to enhance the role of education in life and by life but you must not forget that the school is a most conservative institution. And precisely because of its isolation it tends to reiterate the old patterns and hand them down from generation to generation.

The Report of the Committee of Experts suggests four variants of the future compulsory school. We have already written about them, so I am not going to recall them here. Decisions on this matter will

be taken by the authorities after public discussion of the Report, but the Committee favours an 11-year school with a vocational orientation in the last three years. I think that apart from the general problem — whether this compulsory school of the future should last 10, 11 or 12 years — which will certainly give rise to fierce argument one of the most controversial points is precisely this vocational streaming. Is the eighth grade not too early to choose a trade? And what about the curricula in such a school?

The Report approaches this problem as follows: elements of technical culture will be introduced as early as the elementary level, and vocational guidance will begin as early as nursery school where a file will be opened for every child. Moreover, it will be possible to alter the course of training which, in any case, has been conceived fairly broadly, with a great variety of options available. One of the basic problems we want to solve in the process of democratization of the school system is *to give equal rights to vocational, as compared with general, education.* This will make it possible to select candidates for universities from the full population of every age group, not just from 18 to 20 per cent of this age group, and will enhance the prestige of vocational education in the social consciousness. If every worker can finish a secondary school whose final years equip him with some specialized skills and a trade, and if only those graduates from those schools who have for a number of years given proof of their ability, industry and interests proceed to university or technical college, then I think it will be possible to rationally steer youth through the school system.

On the other hand, we have left the specific curricula of vocational training open, even though some people demand this. If demographic forecasts are right, in the year 2000 every fourth person will be doing a job that doesn't exist today — and all of today's schoolchildren will be working in 2000, won't they?

They will be in their prime.

Precisely. This is why the Report can only be very vague about curricula.

On the condition, however, that it is clearly said which intellectual predispositions should be encouraged. Every fourth worker will be doing a now non-existent job, and two out of four will be performing one transformed out of all recognition.

After the last war it was a technicist approach to education that gained the upper hand in Poland. Specialists for the national economy! And specialists for the economy meant good executors of the plan. I really fear that factory managers, when reading the Report, will first of all ask: how will this help me to implement my yearly plan?

They will be told: you get people with such a grounding that will enable you to turn them within a year into excellent executors of this plan.

Yes, but I am afraid that the factory manager will retort: fair enough, but what about the year when I'm training them? The plan will go to pot. This is of course an exaggeration. But there is a conflict between the short-run approach arising from a certain concept of planned economy and the requirements of the future. If this system of planning is not modified it will be a fairly effective barrier to our economy. And this is why I fear that even the most enlightened managers will contribute little to the debate on the Report. It is people looking far ahead that will have most to say.

And what about the 'demographic bulge' which is poorly trained, both from the point of view of general education and vocational skills? After all they will form the bulk of the working-age population at the end of the century and later.

It is precisely with them in mind that we are urging life-long education.

Yes, but this is not enough. It would be necessary to devise a system of economic and social incentives encouraging them to continue their education.

Exactly. At present if you want to raise the pay of a secretary you must make her a section head. If you want to raise the wage of a good worker you must send him to a secondary school and make him a technician — on paper-work line. You have to take him away from the shop floor. Thus the Report does not suggest a system of artificially pushing people upwards. What matters is to improve their qualifications in their work places. This requires changes in the system of wages. And this is up to the economists, if they want to have good workers. These are the incentives you have mentioned. But we must not forget other, non-professional motivations. Personally I share Zna-

niecki's opinion that personality can only be fully developed through self-education.

Speaking of non-professional motivations, I would like to touch on another, and in my view highly controversial, recommendation made by the Committee. I have in mind the proportions of education at the higher level. I realize of course that higher education is viewed by the community as above all the door to a professional and financial career. Politically, however, it is an essential question of social policy: there must be no discrepancy between the number of students and the possibility of their employment. But, first, the Report's estimates of the needs in this field seem too low. And second, practically no notice has been taken of those other than professional motivations in higher education. And yet we know that even now a growing number of people in the world are beginning to take a disinterested view of higher studies. The idea of two kinds of university education seems also controversial.

It is not as bad as all that. After all we have trained since the war about 600,000 university graduates, and only 400,000 are employed in the national economy. What are the remaining 200,000 doing? Not all of them are dead, are they? They are non-working people with university degrees. For example, housewives. And this is perhaps a good thing. Moreover, let us remember that the new system will not begin to operate before the turn of the decade. The first age groups will reach universities about 1985 at the earliest. In 12 years. I think that planning will then mean not planning demand for specialists but for vacancies in universities. This will be the result of natural social evolution.

One final question: what are your impressions of your two years as Chairman of the Committee of Experts? After all it was a unique experience.

Some time ago, when we were embarking on this inquiry, an interviewer asked me about my plans for the immediate future. I said, if I remember rightly: making shift of this responsibility. It was in many ways an eye-opener. I have realized the value of team work. I have learned how much can be done in cooperation with a group of even very busy people — after all each of us had other duties and any relief in our normal work-load was very marginal. I have come to believe in good will. Now I know how the job could be done more

efficiently. We — all the members of the Committee — were learning and have learnt to look at things from the perspective of this responsibility, from the point of view of higher interests.

It must be said that in this respect we had quite exceptional conditions for our work, and were free of any pressures. But all of us operated within our institutional patterns and interest groups. The people with whom we were in touch were often for some particular solution. But I think that the Committee managed to slough off these spontaneous promptings. We worked in an atmosphere of absolute freedom of action, we were free to consider and discuss all concepts and suggestions — and I would like to stress that it is the fact that our Report was not written to please anybody in particular, not for the benefit of any special group that was particularly appreciated by the authorities. The fact is that we were guided by what we saw as the public interest and the needs of future progress. This may sound a little pompous but it was certainly true to some extent. I personally have learnt a great deal. My task was not always an easy one. There were more doubts than certainties. Sometimes I had to decide on matters where I lacked all the evidence. But in this certainly very difficult period I have learnt one important lesson: *that there are actually no tasks, not even very difficult ones, that cannot be solved by persistence, determination and a strict observance of once adopted rules, regardless of how this may be assessed by others. Loyalty to once adopted principles of good work, you know, is probably the basic directive I would recommend to any chairman of any future committee of experts.*

Interviewed by Bogdan Gotowski

THE REFORM OF EDUCATION

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz

In the May issue of *PP* I contributed an article, 'New Village School', in which I discussed the new shape of rural education and promised I would deal with the reform of the Polish school system as a whole 'at the nearest opportunity'. This is it. However, those who are interested mainly in the subject of my previous article, are referred to the issue in which it appeared, since I shall not be going into these particular problems at any greater length in the following pages.

Apart from a diagnosis of the present situation, the Report of the Commitee of Experts* outlines a number of alternative blueprints for the whole system of education in Poland which, though in one form or another they are to be given effect within the next fifteen years, were designed with a view to the beginnings of the 21st century.

It is these variants which will occupy us here, since they have absorbed public opinion in our country to a much greater extent than the criticisms of the present system of education and given rise to an animated and, to be frank, highly controversial discussion.

Under the chairmanship of Professor Jan Szczepański, the Committee conducted its inquiries for all of three years as a panel of 24 experts which enlisted the cooperation of over 200 other academics (among them, the undersigned) to produce 88 experts briefs and studies as well as a further 273 analyses drawn up by learned, economic and social institutions and 1,352 publications and suggestions put forward in the press, radio and television.

With so many people associated in one way or another with the Report, differences of views over the details and long-term design of the future shape of education were inevitable. In consequence the Report presented not one, but four variants, and merely singled out

* *For more about the origins of the Committee and the reasons for its appointment, see my 'New Village School', PP, May 1973, and the interview with Professor Jan Szczepański printed in the June issue.*

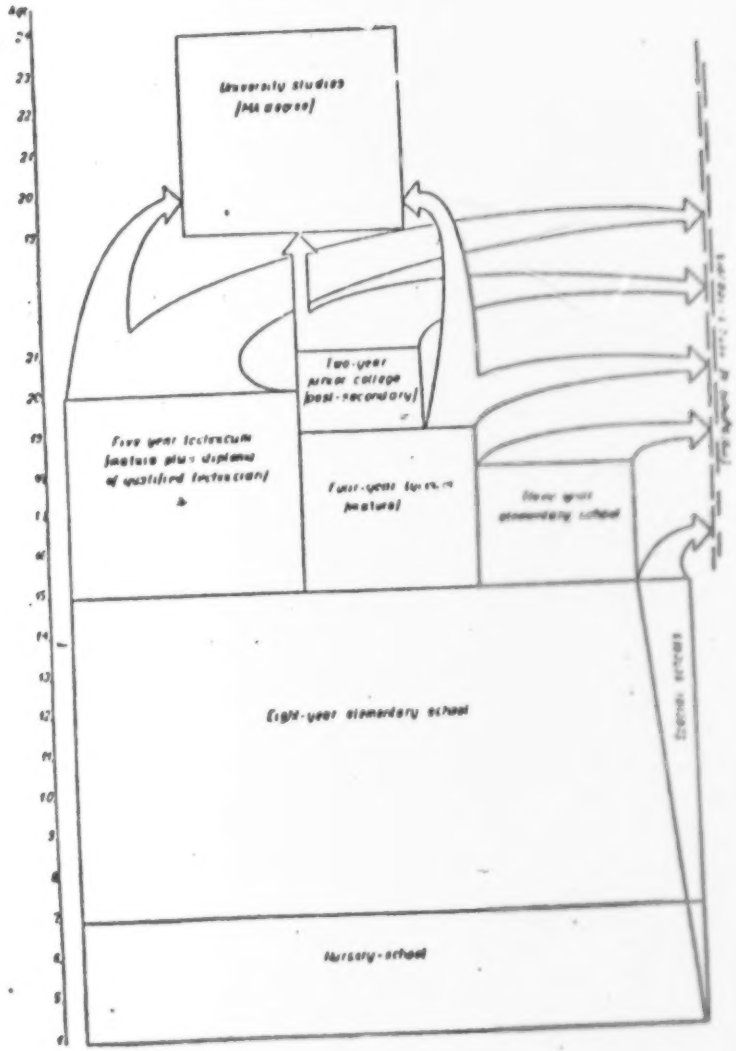
4.4 Kozakiewicz, Mikolaj, "The Reform of Education," Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVI, No. 9, 1973, pp. 10-19

one of these as the one which had received the 'approval of the majority of experts'.

However, before the foreign reader can be expected to grasp what is being planned for the future, it is essential to show him what it is that is about to be reformed. This can be done most graphically by means of a diagram (overleaf).

The structure shown in this diagram had a number of good points. The first of these was that it was a unitary system enabling every child to climb from one rung of the ladder to the next. It was possible even for a graduate of the elementary vocational schools to pass on to a 3-year technicum (left out of the diagram for the sake of clarity) and having completed that, to go on to an institution of higher education. However, the main path to university lay through the traditional lyceum (the equivalent of the British grammar school) awarding the *matura* (or GCE) or, much more rarely via the technicum, which also offered this qualification plus a technical diploma. The disadvantage of this system was its expense, length of duration and uneven geographical distribution — all post-primary schools were located in towns. The result was that half the children (the village half) who had completed the 8th grade of compulsory education were faced with the problem of overcoming a distance barrier to attendance at secondary school. The maintenance of 25,000 (8-grade) village schools made it impossible to ensure they were all equally well equipped and staffed, which meant that the quality of education in the countryside was much lower than in the towns.

Within this system of education, 85 per cent of those who completed the 8-year elementary course continued to attend school for at least another 2-3 years (primary vocational school), 35 per cent of them in university-qualifying schools. This being so, it made it easier for the authorities to advance a programme of universal secondary education (one of the chief items in the resolution of the 6th Party Congres in 1971). But this immediately raised the problem of what kind of secondary school it was proposed to make universal, to be the minimum educational qualification of every Pole. Was it to be the old-type lyceum? If so, why, seeing that there are university place for only one in three of its leavers? Or perhaps the technicum (*matura* plus diploma)? But why, seeing that the number of qualified technicans must be strictly tailored to the needs of the market and the vacancies for holders of its diploma (there is a rule in Poland that everyone must be placed in a job corresponding to his qualifications)? Or



perhaps the trade school? But then can this sort of course providing training in one particular skill be regarded as a 'secondary' school? Nevertheless some of the experts were happy to go along with making the present system the basis for a universal model in view of the advantages mentioned earlier. This is Variant Ia, scrupulously placed on the record by the Committee, which merely envisages raising the school-leaving age to 18, while retaining all the varieties of school and lengths of course shown in Diagram 1. This would add enormously to the amount of time needed to complete an education whatever the type of school, pushing it up to 12 years for the general secondary school, 13 years for the technicum, 11 years for the primary vocational school, 14 years for the post-secondary technical college, 17 years for university and 19 years for postgraduate studies. This is not to be recommended for a variety of reasons, chiefly to do with upbringing, but also economic (family and social). A reform along the lines of Variant IA would, it was estimated, cost 7.6 per cent of the annual national income up to the year 2000 and place a heavy strain on the finances of the state.

These considerations led a part of the Committee, satisfied with the merits of the present school system, to put forward a modified Variant IB which tinkered only with the quantitative proportions between the different types of education without in any way altering the basic pattern illustrated in Diagram 1. Basically, it would mean a marked expansion of the lyceum, to be completed by 50 per cent of all children, the remainder being streamed through technicums (20 per cent), primary vocational schools (25 per cent) and special schools for the handicapped, mentally retarded etc. (5 per cent). The costs would be even higher than in the case of Variant IA, coming to over 8 per cent of national income for the next 20 years, which is more than the budget can afford. It would moreover retain all the shortcomings of the present system and by raising the proportions of children completing a full secondary education from 35 to 75 per cent (which means a minimum of 12-13 years school attendance), keep them off the labour market even longer. At the same time it seems rather unlikely that as many as three-quarters of the total youth population would be either willing or able to take the whole extremely difficult secondary school course in its present, somewhat 'elitist' form which has a very taxing syllabus in the field of non-practical subjects.

For this reason a majority of the experts plumped for Variant II (which has been presented in two versions, A and B) and it is this

blueprint that I propose to examine in greater detail since the odds are that it will decide the shape of the Polish school at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. The essential feature of the work done by the Committee of Experts, and a mark of their courage, is that the design they have roughed out makes a clean break with the structure of education as it has hitherto existed in Poland and proceeds on the assumption that none of the present types of secondary school are worth making universal but must be replaced by a completely novel and hitherto unknown model. Let us now look at Diagram 2 (facing page). From it we can see that the basic, most widespread unit in Variant IIB* will be a Common 11-year General Education School compulsory for virtually every child.

The commencement age will come just under a year earlier than at present (at 6½) and will be preceded by an equally universal pre-primary school (at present only a third of all children attend). By 1985 something like 65 per cent of all children in a given year will have been caught up in this net, a forecast which reflects the reformers' sense of realism: although their basic aim is to see every boy and girl completing all eleven grades, they realize that there will be various factors preventing many of them from staying so long a course and for these they envisage a variety of short-term periods of vocational training. Even so, they see the proportion rising to as much as 90 per cent by 1995 (a prospect which has aroused mixed feelings, of which more later).

Special schools for the physically handicapped or mentally retarded would be available to all children requiring special care (at present there are places for only 20 per cent in this category).

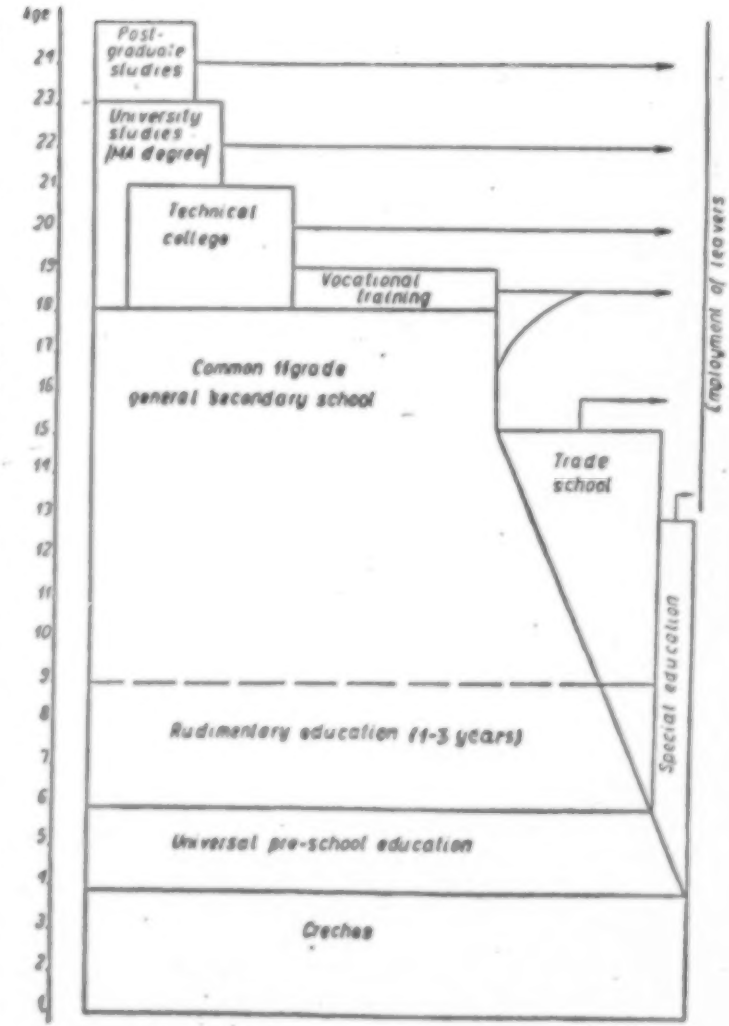
However, it is the 11-year common school which would, in view of its mass compass, be the mainstay of the reformed system. It will consist of three cycles of tuition:

Grades 1-3: rudimentary education (covered by grades 1-4 of the present system) based on a unified syllabus

Grades 4-8: basic elementry education (with a syllabus that is the same for all schools and supplemented by a wide variety of extra-curricular activities

Grades 9-11: preparation for a trade or further study and one of four specialized courses: a) mathematical-physical-technical; b) chemical-biological-agricultural; c) social-economic; d) arts.

* *Variant IIA, which I shall not discuss here, differs only in shortening the length of attendance to 10 years.*



It is in the design of Grades 9-11 that we have the quintessence and (the controversialism) of the reform recommended by the Committee. Before taking a closer look at the argument, it has aroused let us try to pin down the difference between what they have proposed and the present system of secondary education (both general and technical). The first point is the scrapping of the *matura*: all leavers will be entitled to seek a place at university. On the other hand, it is a fact that higher education will never, at any rate in any foreseeable future, be able to take all-comers, nor should it, in view of the need to synchronize the flow of graduates with the number of jobs awaiting them. This is why the projected 11-year school gives a practical slant to the last three grades (9-11) which, without actually teaching a trade, would at least equip the student to acquire the necessary qualifications by means of a year of on-the-job training. Only the most specialized occupations would require completion of an extra, but brief (from 6 months to 1.5-2 years) course of study, the object of these schools being to train highly skilled foremen and chargehands. The 5-year technicums which now turn out qualified technicians would become degree colleges with a 3-year course (see Diagram 2) producing intermediate supervisory staff in technical, economic and medical sectors of employment. These higher requirements spring logically from the fact that all the factory floor workers under them will have a full secondary education.

Also envisaged is a system (not shown in the diagram) of 'lifelong' education providing for the continual replenishment of knowledge, the re-training of staff made necessary by automation, mechanization and technological progress in general, the rehabilitation of the socially maladjusted (young or adult) and the equipment of the physically or mentally handicapped for life and work by means of the network of special schools.

What impresses one about this blueprint is the way it has tackled and linked together all the problems, giving concrete shape to ideas previously only limned out in theory by various educationists.

The diagram also points to no less sweeping changes in the organization of higher education, which would be sub-divided into courses of professional training (3 years), degree studies (4-6 years) and post-graduate studies (an extra two years). Under the present system virtually everyone was trained to MA level and the curricula were all angled to the production of university staff, although in practice only a very small proportion of graduates actually took up academic careers,

the remainder entering other professions for which they were not adequately prepared as a result of the excessive accent on theory in their studies. The higher education system would also have a lifelong element built into it through a multiplicity of various types of refresher courses.

Needless to say, any basic change in the system of education in Poland will be not only a matter of radical re-organization as such, but also of a reform of its content and methods, a matter which is examined at length in the Report, but which lies outside the scope of a brief article like this. However, in this area, too, there can be seen the imprint of that same comprehensive approach: in the field of what might most generally be called upbringing for instance, there are recommended a number of measures which would lead to a welding of the influences of the school, the mass media, community organizations, and, above all, the family.

So bold and thorough-going an overhaul of the entire system of education was bound to stir up controversy, and this it duly did. That was, in any case, the whole point of publishing the Report of the Committee, the idea being that before any final decisions were taken it should be exposed to the crossfire of public discussion.

Let me, therefore, now turn to the main objections to Variant IIB. Different walks of life have raised a variety of doubts depending on their particular view of the problems of youth. For instance, the raising of the school-leaving age to 18 has made many village-dwellers wonder whether the private sector of agriculture (which still accounts for 90 per cent of farm production in Poland) might not suffer from the enforced absence of youth of working age. The point has been made, true enough in so far as it goes, that even the extension of compulsory education to the age of 16 has been a source of conflict between the demands of school and the demands of the household, resulting in the elimination of 15 per cent of rural children prior to completion of the 8-grade elementary school of today.

Another objection has been voiced by secondary school teachers who have seen the idea of an 11-year common school with no *matura* as the death sentence in practice on their precious but essentially elitist lyceum (elitist because it is unmistakably geared solely to university entrance), especially as the last three grades are to be given over to professional specialization. For their part, and in contrast, instructors at vocational schools, as well as a number of industrial managers, see this as a liquidation of their pigeon, since professional

slant or no, it is still basically a general school. What worries them is the prospect of vocational training being confined to a one-year course of supplementary on-the-job training. Having grown used to the present situation in which there are 1.5 million pupils attending some kind of trade school as against only 500,000 attending lyceums, many of them must have found the Committee's recommendation of exactly the opposite proportions something of a shock, turning what was hitherto the exception into the rule and vice versa. This part of the reform is in fact the one which has aroused the most heated argument (though, or perhaps because, it is also the most boldly imaginative) and it has also been attacked by the spokesmen of the interests of rural youth. Their criticism is that though a town-dweller with a school-leaving certificate and diploma of having completed a general course of professional specialization may have little trouble acquiring practical qualifications, the situation in the countryside, where there are no large factories, will be far more complicated and may result in village school-leavers having no other choice than taking up farming, an occupation for which young people everywhere, throughout Europe for that matter, show little inclination.

There is also disagreement among the public over the idea of lengthening the school day (as a result of a variety of extra-curricular activities). Some parents have welcomed this, seeing it as a boon to themselves, especially if both of them are working full time. Others, however, accuse the school of 'possesiveness', of trying to reduce the contact between child and parent to a minimum, and also of making it impossible for them to help around the house, for instance with looking after younger children or — in the countryside — doing their share of the jobs on the land.

A different kind of objection has to do with the selective nature of the new school, which would be made responsible for deciding on the basis of observation and injuition the levels and types of education, up to and including university, its pupils were best fitted out for. The question being asked *is who* is going to judge these abilities and interests and *how*. This would require the employment by every school of highly trained psychologists, and these are in very short supply.

At the moment of writing the debate over the Report of the Committee of Experts continues and remains the chief focus of public concern. It will last until the autumn of the current year, after which the authorities concerned will proceed to hammer out the necessary

decisions from the recommendations of the Report and the ideas thrown up by the ensuing discussion.

One thing, however, may already be said for certain: no previous reform was ever so thoroughly researched and worked out, handed over to so many genuine experts to draft, or came up with such radical and sweeping proposals. As a result, none either ever gave rise to so many hopes and — frankly — misgivings. All this makes it an example of model engineering with a relevance beyond its own narrow sphere of education, affecting as it most certainly does, the whole fabric of social relation in Poland and the new method of government.

THE FUTURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Bogdan Suchodolski

The scientific and technological revolution has set educational theory and practice on its head. It is true that much of 'the new education', which gathered force at the beginning of this century, was committed to a basic overhaul of the traditional system of authoritarian, rote-learning instruction, but such ideas were not only not backed by specific social needs, but even seemed to run counter to them. In these circumstances pioneering petered out in a handful of experimental schools. This situation is now changing: the scientific and technological revolution is generating a genuine demand for a new type of education and thus there is a need for a new theory, capitalizing on many of the principles formulated by the 'new education' movement but adjusting and replenishing them to match the capacities of modern teaching and learning techniques.

Given this, we must now ponder how to transform the elitist secondary school, leading on to an elitist college, into a universal system of secondary education and how to deal with the enormous pressure on higher education which is tearing apart its traditional structure. The extension of school attendance for ever wider numbers of the population and pre- or post-entrance selection for higher education present problems once utterly unknown (for that matter selection sometimes only takes place after graduation and career commencement). These are particularly awkward problems for contemporary education policy, which must be equipped with a proper view of the future if it is to deal with them.

What are the vistas current today? The most commonplace is that education will continue to develop steadily along the lines evolved in Europe in the 19th and 20th century. It has seemed to be the lesson of history that there is a specific 'law' whereby the length of time spent at school grows progressively longer and society becomes increasingly 'scholarized', the period of compulsory universal education being continuously extended to the point where the school-leav-

14.5 Suchodolski, Bogdan, "The Future of Higher Education," Poli Perspectives, Vol. 16, No. 3, March 1973, pp. 9-18

ing age rises to sixteen or even eighteen. Meanwhile an ever wider stream of youth is being channeled through full-time secondary education instead of the tributaries of evening or correspondence courses.

For a variety of reasons this 'classical' vision of the advance of education is losing much of its appeal. And it is the upheaval in science and technology which is one of the chief sources. It has been apparent for a long time that the rapid progress recorded in this area is undermining the lifelong serviceability of the education acquired in youth. The problem of replenishing or even remodelling it has asserted itself with relentless force, especially in technical professions, where school-learning has, particularly in the most modern fields, a very high rate of obsolescence. Hence there is a need not only to train people for a job but also to continue training them once they are doing it.

The solution of this problem has been attacked spontaneously and *ad hoc*, by means of all sorts of continuation and refresher courses, organized as the need arose for various occupations. However, it has become increasingly obvious that these are only half-measures and that the arrangements can hardly be regarded as rational in a situation where the training of people for specialized careers is the responsibility of institutions of higher education, but the job of keeping them abreast of new developments falls on 'anonymous' organizers of further training courses. After all it is the colleges which command the greatest resources of teaching staff in any country and there is absolutely no reason why their purview should be confined to issuing degrees and stop short of the vast sphere of continuation studies. Quite the contrary: the colleges, which are the chief base of research, even if there are projects organized outside them, are pre-destined to supervise the up-dating of their own greaduates' knowledge.

These necessities have stimulated various suggested reforms of the scope and organization of higher education with a view to making it a hub of post-graduate studies in the broader sense of a lifelong process of education. Its object would not be to provide advanced academic degrees (though this would not be ruled out), but to replenish earlier courses and improve performance at work.

If this is, however, the vision of the future that is envisaged, it would spell a fundamental overhaul of the fabric of higher education and its place on the academic ladder. It is at present the highest

rung, but one that can be climbed only by the most socially favoured youth assured, by reason of the title it confers, of a privileged professional standing and corresponding social status for the rest of its life. The processes adumbrated here would result in the universities ceasing to be a classroom for youth of a defined age and becoming a fountain of knowledge for working people in all age brackets. Adult education, which still for the most part retains the nature of a substitute for the full-time education missed out on in the usual time, will assume in future the nature of studies improving professional qalifications by means of systematic refreshment.

The thrust of these transformations will be in the direction of making higher education no longer the topmost rung of an educational ladder which has to be reached at the proper age but a centre of research and academic life in which people at various times of life, who already possess professional qualifications, can and should participate. These new social coordinates will give higher education closer ties with adult society and at the same time keep the latter in touch with the progress of science. Such a nexus is an obvious necessity of a scientific-technological civilization in which the dissemination of knowledge is the principal dynamo of professional activity.

There is one other question which should be considered from this perspective: should the universities, slated as they are to be centres of education for all age groups, continue to be schools for young people who are only about to begin training for a career?

Just to phrase such a question seems shocking. The universities have after all been performing this function for centuries and it is hard to imagine anything changing in the future. The prospect of universalizing higher education via the universities must appear to most people a fully rational one, and social and educational progress is rightly measured from this point of view in numbers of students. But it is this very strategy which is now inviting scepticism.

The first doubt arises from the fact that the process of making secondary education universal — which is an irreversible feature of our times — will build up an overwhelming pressure on the universities. Countries which erect no barriers to entrance run the risk of producing a glut of graduates and being saddled with an 'academic proletariat'. Those which ration the number of university places will be faced with the necessity of introducing increasingly rigorous entrance standards. But even that will be no protection

against a growing number of people appearing who are good enough to pass the exams but are refused admission for lack of places, a tragic paradox in an age of avowedly ambitious educational aspirations. Such a tightening of selection procedures is in any case open to serious objections, since the truth is that we have no truly reliable method of vetting candidates: making the methods in current practice even tougher only increases the inevitability of miscarriages of justice. Thus neither the current nor the suggested avenues of access to higher education are likely to guarantee that the task of equipping young people for professional life is valuably fulfilled; the former causes enormous social and individual wastage; the latter is fallible and prejudicial.

The second doubt is of a different nature. Whatever the strategy we adopt in the matter of university admission, the numbers are going to increase. This means that an ever growing proportion of youth is going to spend a longer period of life in the classroom. This is not a good thing. It is true that the years of university attendance still exert a spell, but the glamour derives from purely traditional sources. It springs from a period in which attending university was synonymous with a freedom to be achieved, chiefly by the better-off children, after obtaining a so-called 'certificate of maturity' and to continue until they entered a career which drew the curtain once and for all on their education. Now that peoples' lives have ceased to be divided into a period of learning free from work and a period of employment ruling out learning and the intertwining of work and learning has become a model of life in modern civilization and the doors of the universities are wide open to all social strata and not only to a narrow élite which has a different pattern of life from the mass of the people, the academic years are in these conditions drained of much of their former glamour.

They are becoming a period of tediously prolonged preparation for life in the course of which youth, which is only nominally 'mature', remains financially and socially dependent on the support of its family or the state. Experience of community life is available only in surrogate, 'schoolboy' forms, via viarious forms of apprenticeships or vacation training schemes; it never reaches the level of responsibility enjoyed by their peers in regular employment. This division is bound to become increasingly dubious not only on grounds of social justice. From the character point of view the prolongation of formal education is undesirable since it encourages 'something for

nothing' attitudes and 'having it made' in life. Naturally there are students who take this exacting test of character in their stride, and on completing their studies are able, although no longer adolescent, to throw themselves enthusiastically into community life, but the odds on their doing so are unfavourable and there is reason to fear that a marked expansion of higher education capacities will increase the socio-moral liabilities inherent in the mass prolongation of formal school attendance.

Taking these doubts into consideration — the difficulties of university selection and the disadvantages of advancing the threshold of occupational and social independence — one may ask: is it possible to imagine a model of education which might be free of these difficulties and dangers and might — in keeping with the modern perspectives of lifelong education — link these studies with work.

If the answer is yes, it would entail scrapping higher education as the highest rung of the ladder preserved for a specific category of young people being groomed for professional life and retaining it solely as a source of sandwich tuition providing either preferment at work or improved qualifications.

This would be a modern and democratic solution. It would do away with what would be the last bastion of dualism once secondary education has been opened to all since there would otherwise still remain a succeeding period in which some study and others work. It would mean taking to its logical conclusion the principle of lifelong education which implicitly postulates that the learning process is not confined to a specified age. It would also meet the fundamental requirements of the scientific and technological revolution, interlocking theory and practice, revitalizing knowledge by ingesting its practical consequences, and intellectually enhancing professional activity by spotlighting the problems of scientific progress. Last but not least, it would be a powerful cementing factor in the life of the country, since the national culture, still the preserve of a chosen few, would become the common coin of all the work-people.

A number of basic conditions must, however, be fulfilled if this vista is to be furthered.

In the first place the opportunity to combine study and work must be available to all. In a socialist society production is not the be-all and end-all of the national economy: no less important than what people produce and how is the question of how they feel in the process, how dedicated they can be, how they fulfil their ambitions

and aspirations at and through work. It may be that from a purely economic point of view this is to advocate saddling the economy with 'non-productive' liabilities; but the whole point about a socialist society is that accountancy pure and simple is not its sole governing factor. We already take for granted that the national economy must shoulder a certain burden of social services; in time it will become equally self-evident that it must also bear an education load. In other words it will have to see that working people have a real chance to combine a job with further education.

The second condition is more complicated. It involves analysis of occupations in terms of their various echelons and avenues of promotion. A belief persists that there are some in which you can start at the bottom and, given further training, work your way up to the top and others where you either enter on the highest rung of the ladder or not at all. We can, for instance, conceive of a skilled worker gradually rising to the grade of foreman, technician or even engineer, but consider that there is no possibility of similar advancement in, say, the teaching or medical profession. In the first case, further sandwich education makes sense from the very outset; in the second, a man without a long period of formal training, is simply unemployable.

But even assuming such a distinction is valid, we would still be left with a very substantial proportion of young people who could profitably combine study with work, since the number of occupations in which one can move up from a lower level of qualifications is large. It is, however, at least possible that the idea that certain careers can only be entered with higher ones is a relic of the past when they were invested with a social kudos acquired by the privilege of a long and expensive education which was not so much a genuinely essential qualification as a barrier keeping out gatecrashers using the back door of practice. Now that these considerations no longer hold, we can scrutinize without class bias the set-up in these professions as well, and would probably discover that there is nothing to stop people educating their way up to the top. Should it be found that there nevertheless are some occupations which have no lower rungs (e.g. the teaching profession), a different organization of the prior training required would not be impossible.

The next condition has to do with the nature of the preceding, secondary tier of education. Assuming that it will in due course become universal and that its completion (by substantially the whole

of youth) is followed by a mass passage into professional life, we must make certain fundamental alterations in its fabric. For if it is no longer to be the medium of a select few's access to university but an amenity all can enjoy, its design along orthodox general lines will not pass muster. It will instead have to assure a smoother passage for the large proportion of children who even now are not headed for higher education into employment or some brief course of training.

These are all arguments in favour of a modern restructuring of secondary education curricula in which additional emphasis would be placed on certain groups of subjects to be determined by scientific considerations (i.e. affinities between certain diciplines) and chosen occupations. In contemporary civilization, based as it is on science, every occupation is in need of a certain scientific underpinning; knowing which subjects go with each prospective career, secondary education can be tailored accordingly. It would still remain a general education, but with a certain angle which, although also general, would provide a special grounding in the kind of scientific problems which will be encountered in a given occupation.

Such a blueprint for universal secondary education would eliminate the bad things in the tradition of both general and vocational education; in other words it would mean an end to the fuzziness of the one and the narrow utilitarianism of the other. It would offer a modern general education with a distinct stamp.

School-leavers would then be equipped for employment in the occupation which, thanks to proper guidance at school, they have chosen as their career in life: be equipped not in the sense having been given a strict vocational preparation but of having the right scientific frame of mind. Even if they were still in need of a brief course of training, the spadework would already have been done at school.

This kind of system is a *since qua non* of the reform of higher education we have been suggesting. Needless to say, the idea of sandwiching work and study is a very far cry from the educational model which is still widely thought to be the only worthwhile pattern of higher education.

The most common objection is that it would jeopardize the future of theoretical studies and the development of gifts in this direction. It would inevitably lead, so the argument goes, to a proliferation of practicism and so destroy the roots of more theoretical pursuits.

But to say this is to be a prisoner of the old conditions of work which indeed left little room for mental exercise: when it was solely a matter of performance controlled by stereotyped directives, it could not contribute to awakening theoretical interests. Things are basically different in an age of scientific and technical revolution, one of the features of which is surely that it is sweeping aside rigid routines and positively inviting theoretical reflection.

The second prong of this particular criticism is that it will be inimical to those who betray outstanding theoretical gifts at a relatively early age. It is a fact that in certain fields, notably mathematics and physics, creative work is possible only in the early stages of one's career. However, our suggested design for higher education as a system of lifelong studies pursued by working adults does not fail to make provision for the future of exceptionally talented young people; these would be offered employment in research institutes where they could combine work with studying the field of inquiry of their choice.

Another objection which is frequently raised is that such a revolutionary overhaul of higher education would lead to its forfeiting entirely its general educational and cultural functions and becoming solely a medium of vocational training. This is, to say the very least, disingenuous since it is a charge that is to be levelled at higher education as now organized. If it were transformed as indicated here it would find it easier to perform these general tasks. For once the colleges are converted from degree factories into generators of learning, a more flexible organization of courses for working people will become much more practicable.

Once a model of life takes root in which, true to the idea of lifelong education, work and study are interknit, there will arise an atmosphere conducive to the cultivation of all kinds of intellectual and artistic interests. Centres of advanced studies will inevitably develop a broad and dense network of local services, one which will also probably grow into a seedbed of general culture at a higher level. Of all the institutions of higher education, the universities will have the most vital tasks to perform.

The prospect unfolded here is one of great social challenge and responsibilities — but also of a great revival of higher education which in its present shape is clearly wilting. As the educational needs of adult society assert themselves with increasing force, the colleges, confined in their functions to providing a vocational training for

youth, are being left stranded by these powerful tides. Hence if we are to make sense of the scientific and technological revolution now charting the course of modern civilization, if we are to carry through a real programme of lifelong education, if we are to give meaning to the idea of an 'education society' as one of the ways of remedying the dangers of a 'consumer society', we must muster all available intellectual resources to meet this challenge. Higher education, which commands the greatest research and didactic potential, cannot opt out of this undertaking.

The vision of the future painted here might easily seem utopian. Carpers will be inclined even to call it misleading and dangerous. Yet it points the way to a socialist society, to a community of people who are working and learning, one in which discriminatory barriers and invidious inequalities will cease to exist. At the same time it pre-supposes a judicious and circumspect educational strategy. We are not advocating anything as foolhardy as the overnight liquidation of higher education in its present form. We have after all indicated that there are certain preconditions which must first be fulfilled, and we cannot stress their importance too strongly. We should be concerned to create much better opportunities for combining work and study, especially in the case of the young. We should propagate a diversified pattern of secondary education and guide the passage of school-leavers into professional life. We should systematically organize and expand lifelong education for adults and transfer to it much of what had in the old conditions to be come by in youth. If we do all this, higher education will inevitably undergo the evolution we have been describing in these pages and which may seem so startling. To an ever greater extent it will have to serve the needs of working people — young and old, and full-time studies for the otherwise unemployed young will gradually lose much of the privileged status they still posses.

In this strategy, cautious and rational as it is, there is, however, one thing where from the very start there can be no pussy-footing. I am thinking of new bearings for the lives of the young, of a new scale of values. The glamour of studentship is to fade and it may be that we shall lay it to rest with a twinge of regret. But the price it exacts — the segregation of a relatively small section of a whole generation and its exemption for a number of years from the obligations of professional activity and effective participation in social life — is too high — and paid for no good reason. We should place

a high value on early commencement of work and the seeking out of avenues of further education when new conditions arise favouring the combining of the two.

It is by proceeding in this direction that we should be able to attain the goals which have exercised us for years: increasing the younger generation's sense of commitment and its participation in the undertakings of the community at large and an eradication of the disparities within it — between those who go to university and those who go to work. This seems to hold out the promise of accomplishing the great objective of a nationwide integration embracing both young and old, workers and intelligentsia.

The Educational System of

POLAND

THE BASIC SYSTEM

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Official Name: Polish People's Republic.
Location: Eastern Europe.
Size: 120,700 square miles.
Main Subdivisions: 49 Provinces *(Voivodships)*.
Language: Polish.
Population: 33.5 million (December 1973 estimate).
People: 98 percent ethnically Polish.
Literacy Rate: 98 percent.
Type of Government: Communist.
Religion: 95 percent Roman Catholic; 5 percent Eastern Orthodox, Protestant, and Jewish.

History

For centuries the Polish people have esteemed learning and education. The University of Kraków (Cracow) was founded as early as 1361, and in the 1190's Nicolaus Copernicus, the great Polish astronomer, was one of its students. Almost all education was "classical," the principal subjects of study being the arts and sciences, history, languages, philosophy, and theology. In 1773 the National Commission of Education, one of the first ministries of education in Europe, was created.

After Poland was partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the late 18th century, the inhabitants of what had been Poland became subject to three very different educational systems and policies. Only Austria permitted use of the Polish language for teaching. At the end of World War I (1918), Poland's independence was restored, and in 1932 a unified and compulsory system of education was established by the National Education Law. The law provided for a 6-year elementary school for children aged 7 to 13, a 6-year secondary general education school divided into a 4-year gymnasium offering general education and a 2-year lyceum offering college preparatory courses, and various types of secondary vocational schools. While most of the elementary schools were state supported, the majority of secondary schools were financed privately.

Higher education developed during the interwar period with the number of higher education institutions in Poland increasing from about 13 to 35 by 1938.

While Poland was under military occupation throughout World War II (1939–45), only elementary schools were permitted to function, and their curriculum was confined to reading, writing, arithmetic, and practical work. Secondary, higher, and teacher education had to be carried on secretly.

After World War II, Poland became a smaller and more homogeneous state under the control of the Polish Communist party, the *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*—PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party). The organization of elementary-secondary education was based in principle on the 1932 Education Law; but a decree issued on November 23, 1945, "to speed up the repair of war damages" authorized the Minister of Education "to establish or to permit the establishment of courses not foreseen in the Law of 1932, and to modify the duration of school education."[1] In the 1948–49 school year, 11 years of elementary-secondary education were introduced into the system; i.e., 7 years of compulsory elementary schooling followed by 4 years of secondary. "The new school programs were closely related to the goals of education to shape the thought and will of the pupil in conformity with the spirit of socialism. . . ."[2] The 11-year system remained in effect until the 1961 Law on the Development of Education was passed and Poland returned to a 12-year school system.

After the war higher education was rebuilt and reorganized, and a number of new schools were founded. Some faculties were separated from the universities and set up as separate higher education institutions; e.g., medical faculties were taken away from the universities and transformed into separate schools called academies of medicine.

Legal Basis

The Constitution of July 22, 1952, establishes the legal basis for education and defines the basic principles relating to the organization and administration of education and science in Poland.

The present elementary-secondary education structure is based on the July 15, 1961, Law on the Development of Education, which defines the organization of education and the principles governing its development and regulates questions concerning these matters. Higher education is governed by the November 5, 1958, Law on Higher Schools.

Administration

Before 1950 all levels of education were under the authority of a single Ministry of Education *(Ministerstwo Oświaty)*. In 1950, when the Ministry of Higher Education *(Ministerstwo Szkolnictwa Wyższego)* was created, the Ministry of Education became the primary governmental body concerned with elementary-secondary education,

[1] UNESCO. *World Survey of Education—II: Primary Education*. Paris: UNESCO, 1958. Pp. 856–57. (Information prepared by The Polish Commision for UNESCO, July 1956.)

[2] UNESCO. *World Survey of Education: Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics*. Paris: UNESCO, 1955. P. 324.

4.6 Apanasewicz, Nellie, The Educational System of Poland, Washington, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1976, 18 pp.

and the Ministry of Higher Education became the chief authority over higher education. In 1967 the two ministries were merged into a single Ministry of Education and Higher Schools *(Ministerstwo Oświaty i Szkolnictwa Wyższego)*, and all levels of education were again under the supervision of a single ministry until early 1972.

In March 1972, to improve the administration, organization, and development of the country and the economy, the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament) voted to abolish the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools and to establish a Ministry of Education and Upbringing *(Ministerstwo Oświaty i Wychowania)* and a Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology *(Ministerstwo Nauki, Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Techniki)*.

The Ministry of Education and Upbringing is now the primary governmental body concerned with elementary and secondary education. Its functions are to coordinate all education at the elementary and secondary levels, develop the system of vocational education, and carry out the necessary changes in the structure of elementary-secondary education, for the proposed education reforms discussed later under "Education Reforms." Within the Ministry, subsidiary departments deal with specific educational matters such as planning, budget, staffing, and school construction. The People's Councils, or local governmental bodies, oversee the schools in their respective regions and districts.

The Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology is now the principal administrative body responsible for higher education, although some specialized higher schools are under the supervision of other ministries. Its functions are to administer higher education schools, to develop scientific-technical policies, to coordinate scientific research and technical work, and to develop, coordinate, and implement the state plan for graduate training of research and technical personnel.

Financing

Education at all levels is free.

During 1972 education expenditures amounted to 9 percent of the total state budget expenditures, or approximately 3,899,259,000 zlotys (about $1,950,630,500 [3]). Expenditures for higher education amounted to 21.2 percent of the education budget or 1.93 percent of the total state budget.[4]

Structure

Poland's basic education structure comprises 4 years of preschool education, 8 years of compulsory elementary education (ages 7 to 15), usually 4 or 5 years of secondary education, and from 4 to 6 years of study at the higher education level for the first degree, depending on the type of institution and field of study.

Academic Calendar

For elementary and secondary schools, the school year begins in September and ends in June; for higher education, the academic year begins in October and ends in June, with a semester break in February.

Language of Instruction

Polish is the primary language of instruction, since the population of the country is 98 percent ethnically Polish. Other ethnic groups are few and "represent very small minorities; the State has, nevertheless, made every facility available for meeting their educational needs by providing school, class, or group instruction in their mother tongue." [5]

Grading System

The grading system provides for four adjective ratings: Very good *(bardzo dobry)*, good *(dobry)*, satisfactory *(dostateczny)*, and unsatisfactory *(niedostateczny)*.

[3] In November 1975 the official exchange rate (noncommercial) was 19.92 zlotys for $1 (U.S.).

[4] Główny Urząd Statystyczny (GUS). *Rocznik Statystyczny 1973 (Statistical Yearbook 1973)*. Warsaw: GUS, 1973. Pp. 585, 588.

[5] UNESCO. *World Survey of Education—V: Educational Policy, Legislation, and Administration*. Paris: UNESCO, 1971. P. 982.

PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Preschool education *(przedszkola)* is available to children from 3 to 6 years of age. Preschool education is not compulsory, but proposals are being discussed regarding the gradual introduction of 1 year of compulsory preschool education for all 6-year-old children.

According to the Minister of Education, in the 1973–74 school year preschool care was provided for 80 percent of 6-year-old children in the urban areas and 78 percent of the same age group in the rural areas.[6] Plans were being made to increase 1974–75 preschool attendance to 85 percent of all 6-year-old children.[7]

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The reorganization of elementary schooling, begun in 1961, was completed in the 1967–68 school year. Compulsory schooling was extended from 7 to 8 years to coincide with the 8 years of elementary schooling.

The curriculum shown in table 1 is uniform throughout the country for grades 1 through 8. As of 1973–74, a system of automatic promotion was introduced in grades 1 through 4; in grades 5 through 8, promotion is on the basis of a pupil's class performance and achievement in tests and homework.

After successfully completing the eighth grade, a student receives the Certificate of Completion of the Elementary School *(Świadectwo Ukończenia Szkoły Podstawowej)*, which is a requirement for admission to secondary schooling. In 1973–74 approximately 90 percent of elementary school graduates continued their studies in some type of secondary school.

Enrollment data are given in table 2.

[6] U.S. Joint Publications Research Service. "Minister of Education Interviewed on Changes in the Educational System," *Translations on Eastern Europe: Political, Sociological, and Military Affairs, No. 929* (JPRS: 62,474, July 15, 1974, p. 40). (From *Trybuna Ludu*, June 22, 1974, pp. 1, 3.)

[7] "Conference of the PZPR CC Politburo and Government Presidium." *Polish News Bulletin*, Aug. 7, 1974, p. 2, Section A. (From *Trybuna Ludu*, No. 219, Aug. 7, 1974, n.p.)

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The reform of secondary education, begun in 1967–68, was completed in 1970–71, when the 12th year of schooling was introduced throughout the system. To be admitted to any secondary school, a student must have completed 8 years of elementary education. The chart of the basic educational system (p. 4) shows the various paths open to elementary school graduates.

The principal secondary schools *(szkoły średnie)* are the 4-year general education lyceums *(licea ogólnokształcące)*— also called general education schools *(szkoły ogólnokształcące)*—the 4- or 5-year technical schools *(szkoły techniczne)* and vocational schools *(szkoły zawodowe)*, and the 2- or 3-year basic vocational schools *(zasadnicze szkoły zawodowe)*. Included in the organizational structure under secondary schools are post-lyceum schools *(szkoły pomaturalne)* or *(szkoły policealne)* for graduates of general education lyceums who do not go on to higher studies but who want to work in certain fields that require supplementary training.

Enrollment data are given in table 2.

General Education Lyceums

The primary purpose of general education lyceums is to prepare students for university studies. The curriculum is shown in table 3.

To receive the Certificate of Maturity of the General Education Lyceum *(Świadectwo Dojrzałości Liceum Ogólnokształcącego)*, which allows a student to apply for admission to higher education institutions, students must pass a final written examination in mathematics, the Polish language, and a subject selected by the student.

Under a regulation passed in 1971, students may decide whether or not to take the maturity examination. Those who do not take the maturity examination receive a Certificate of Completion of Secondary Schooling *(Świadectwo Ukończenia Szkoły Średniej)* or Certificate of Completion of the General Education Lyceum *(Świadectwo Ukończenia Liceum Ogólnokształcącego)*. This certificate, however, does not entitle them to apply for admission to higher studies.

Technical and Vocational Schools

The technical and vocational schools combine general education with theoretical and practical training to prepare students for work in such fields as agriculture, commerce, health services, and industry. Development of various kinds of technical and vocational schools is conditioned by the needs of the national economy.

General subjects, which comprise more than 50 percent of the school program, include chemistry, mathematics, military training, physics, Polish language, Russian language, and social sciences (geography and history). Students who pass the maturity examination and receive the Certificate of Maturity *(Świadectwo Dojrzałości)* may apply for admission to higher education institutions.

In 1973–74 the majority of young people completing elementary education continued their studies in a technical or vocational school; and about three times as many students attended technical or vocational secondary schools as general education lyceums.

Basic Vocational Schools

The majority of elementary school graduates who do not go on to a general education lyceum or a technical or vocational school enter a 2- or 3-year basic vocational school to prepare for agricultural or industrial trades. About 20 percent of school time is spent in the classroom on general subjects such as civics, chemistry, mathematics, physics, Polish language, and Russian language; the rest of the time is devoted to practical on-the-job training.

Those who complete the basic vocational school receive the Certificate of Completion of the Basic Vocational School *(Świadectwo Ukończenia Zasadniczej Szkoły Zawodowej)* and may continue in a technical or vocational school, depending on the skill acquired and the kind of basic vocational program completed.

Post-Lyceum Schools

Although students entering post-lyceum schools *(szkoły pomaturalne* or *szkoły policealne)* must have the Certificate of Maturity from the general education lyceum, these schools are considered secondary schools in Poland. The 2-year program of studies prepares specialized personnel for various branches of the economy.

After completing the studies and passing the diploma examination, a student receives a diploma and a title in his or her field of specialization. For example, graduating analytical technicians of the 2-year post-lyceum state schools of medicine receive the Diploma of Completion of the State School of Medicine of Analytical Technicians *(Dyplom Ukończenia Państwowej Szkoły Medycznej Techników Analityki)* and the title Analytical Technician *(Technik Analityki)*.

TEACHER EDUCATION

Preschool Teachers

Before September 1973, 5-year pedagogical lyceums *(licea pedagogiczne)* trained elementary school graduates to become teachers for preschools. Since that time, in accordance with the May 30, 1973, Decree of the Minister of Education, preschool teachers have been trained in Study Centers for Preschool Teachers *(Studia Wychowania Przedszkolnego)*, or SWP's. The length of studies is as follows: 12 semesters (6 years) for graduates of 8-year elementary schools and 4 semesters (2 years) for graduates of secondary general education lyceums. Students from the former pedagogical lyceums could continue studies at the SWP's at the next higher grade level following the grade level completed in the pedagogical lyceums at the time of their transformation into SWP's. Graduates of

pedagogical lyceums, after 1 year of teaching practice in preschools, can complete the required additional studies through part-time, evening, or correspondence courses and by passing the diploma examination. As of the 1973–74 school year, there were 35 SWP's with a total enrollment of 8,089 students, of which 3,268 were first-year students.[8]

Elementary and Secondary School Teachers

In preparation for the forthcoming education reforms, elementary school teachers are now required to complete 4 years of studies at the higher education level. Those 5-year secondary pedagogical lyceums that used to train teachers for grades 1 through 4 were phased out in 1970, and the 2-year postsecondary teachers' schools (*Studia Nauczycielskie*, or SN's) that still train some elementary school teachers for grades 5 through 8 were to be completely phased out by 1975. Graduates of these schools are given the opportunity to complete their studies at one of the higher education institutions described hereafter that are currently training elementary school teachers.

The three types of higher education institutions that train elementary as well as secondary school teachers are the universities, the Higher Schools of Pedagogy (*Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne*, or WSP), and the Higher Teachers' Schools (*Wyższe Szkoły Nauczycielskie*, or WSN).[9] To be admitted, a student must have received the Certificate of Maturity and have passed an entrance examination. After successfully completing the required 4 years of studies, a graduate receives the diploma and the title of Magister Pedagogiki (*Master of Pedagogy*) in a particular field of specialization.[10]

[8] Główny Urząd Statystyczny. *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1973/74* (Yearbook of Educational Statistics 1973–74). Warsaw: GUS, 1974. P. 99.

[9] Ministerstwo Nauki, Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Techniki. *Informator dla kandydatów na studia dzienne w szkołach wyższych na rok szkolny 1974/75* (Handbook for applicants to day studies at the higher education institutions for the 1974–75 school year). Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974. Pp. 61–64.

[10] *Ibid.*

HIGHER EDUCATION

The purpose of higher education institutions is to educate specialists for the various branches of the national economy and culture and to train specialists for scientific and research work. Article 1 of the 1958 Law on Higher Schools states that "higher schools actively participate in the building and strengthening of socialism in People's Poland by carrying out creative scientific research, preparing scientific personnel for research and teaching, and developing and cultivating national culture and technical progress."[11]

Organization and Administration

The universities in Poland are listed in table 4, with the location and faculties of each.

The other higher education institutions (except those under the Ministries of National Defense and Navigation), with location and faculties, are as follows:[12]

Agriculture
(under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology)

Agricultural Academies: *Cracow*—(1) Agriculture, (2) Forestry, (3) Horticulture, (4) Land Reclamation and Improvement, and (5) Zootechnics; *Lublin*—(1) Agricultural Engineering, (2) Agriculture, (3) Animal Husbandry, (4) Horticulture, and (5) Veterinary Science; *Olsztyn-Kortowo*—(1) Agriculture, (2) Civil Engineering, (3) Dairy and Food Technology, (4) Geodesy and Agricultural Appliances, (5) Mechanical Engineering, (6) Veterinary Science, (7) Water Protection and Inland Fisheries, and (8) Zootechnics; *Poznań*—(1) Agriculture, (2) Agriculture Food Technology, (3) Animal Husbandry, (4) Forestry, (5) Horticulture, (6) Land Reclamation and Improvement, and (7) Wood Technology; *Szczecin*—(1) Agriculture, (2) Sea Fisheries, and (3) Zootechnics; *Warsaw*—(1) Agricultural Economics, (2) Agriculture, (3) Food Technology, (4) Forestry, (5) Horticulture, (6) Land Reclamation, (7) Veterinary Science, (8) Wood Technology, and (9) Zootechnics; and *Wrocław*—(1) Agriculture, (2) Land Reclamation and Improvement, (3) Veterinary Science, and (4) Zootechnics.

Arts
(under the Ministry of Culture and Art)

Academies of Fine Arts: *Cracow*—(1) Graphic Arts, (2) Industrial Design, (3) Interior Design, (4) Painting, and (5) Sculpture; and *Warsaw*—(1) Graphic Arts, (2) Painting, (3) Plastic Design, and (4) Sculpture.

Higher School of Films, Television, and Theater: *Łódź*—(1) Acting, (2) Camera Photography, (3) Film and Television Directing, and (4) Production Management.

Higher Schools of Music: *Cracow, Gdańsk, Katowice, Łódź, Poznań, Warsaw, and Wrocław*—(1) Composition, Theory, and Conducting (2) Instruments, (3) Music Education, and (4) Voice and Drama.

Higher Schools of Plastic Arts: *Gdańsk*—(1) Painting and Sculpture and (2) Plastic Design; *Łódź*—(1) Graphics and (2) Textile Design; and *Poznań* and *Wrocław*—(1) Interior Architecture and (2) Painting, Sculpture, and Graphic Arts.

Higher Schools of the Theatre: *Cracow*—(1) Drama; and *Warsaw*—(1) Drama and (2) Stage Management.

Economics
(under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology[13])

Central School of Planning and Statistics: *Warsaw*—(1) Domestic Trade, (2) Economics and Social Sciences, (3) Economics of Production, (4) Finance and Statistics, and (5) Foreign Trade.

Higher Schools of Economics: *Cracow*—(1) Economics of Production and (2) Economics of Trade; *Katowice*—(1) Economics of Industry and (2) Trade and Economics of Consumption; *Poznań*—(1) Commerce and Commodity Science and (2) Economics of Production; and *Wrocław*—(1) Industrial Engineering and Economics and (2) National Economy.

[11] *Ustawa o szkołach wyższych z dnia 5 listopada 1958r.* (Law Governing Higher Schools dated Nov. 5, 1958.) Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959. P. 5. (Translated by the author.)

[12] Ministerstwo Nauki, Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Techniki. Op. cit. Passim. and Polish Scientific Publishers. *Polish Research Guide* (TT 70-55127). Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974. Pp. 79–210.

[13] With the exception of the Higher School of Social Sciences, which is supervised by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Higher School of Social Sciences: *Warsaw*—(1) Agricultural Policies, (2) Confessional Policies and Study of Religions, (3) Contemporary International Workers' Movement, (4) History of the Polish Workers' Movement, (5) Industrial Policies, (6) Knowledge of the Party, (7) Philosophy, (8) Political Economy, (9) Sociology, and (10) Studies on Youth.

Education
(under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology)

Higher Schools of Pedagogy: *Cracow, Kielce, Opole, Rzeszów, Szczecin,* and *Zielona Góra*—(1) Geography and Biology, (2) History, (3) Humanities, (4) Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, and (5) Philology.
Higher Teachers' Schools: *Bydgoszcz, Częstochowa, Olsztyn, Siedlce,* and *Słupsk*—(1) Humanities, (2) Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and (3) Pegagogy.
Maria Grzegorzewska State Institute of Special Education: *Warsaw*—(1) Revalidation and (2) Social Readjustment.

Engineering
(under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology)

Higher Schools of Engineering: *Białystok, Lublin, Opole,* and *Zielona Góra*—(1) Civil Engineering, (2) Electrical Engineering, and (3) Mechanical Engineering; *Bydgoszcz*—(1) Chemical Technology, (2) Civil Engineering, (3) Electronics and Electrotechnics, and (4) Mechanics; *Kielce*—(1) Civil Engineering, (2) Economics, (3) Electrical Engineering, (4) Footwear and Tanning Technology, (5) Mechanical Engineering, and (6) Transport; *Koszalin*—(1) Civil Engineering and (2) Mechanics; and *Rzeszów*—(1) Chemical Technology, (2) Civil and Sanitary Engineering, (3) Electrical Engineering, and (4) Mechanical Engineering.

Medicine
(under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare)

Medical Academies: *Białystok, Cracow, Gdańsk, Katowice, Łódź, Lublin, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw,* and *Wrocław*—(1) Medicine and (2) Pharmacy.

Physical Education
(under the Central Committee of Physical Culture and Tourism)

Academies of Physical Education: *Cracow, Poznań, Warsaw,* and *Wrocław.*
Higher Schools of Physical Education: *Gdańsk-Oliwa* and *Katowice.*

Theology
(under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology)

Academies of Catholic Theology: *Warsaw*—(1) Canon Law, (2) Christian Philosophy, and (3) Theology.
Christian Theological Academy: *Warsaw*—(1) Theology.

The majority of higher education institutions are divided into faculties.

The faculties of higher education institutions may include several divisions; e.g., institutes, departments, sections, or chairs. Each faculty corresponds to a particular field of study; e.g., architecture, engineering, humanities, medicine, pharmacy. In some institutions, department or institute functions are considered comparable to faculty functions. Chairs are basic organization units for research and teaching.

Each higher education institution is headed by a rector, assisted by one or more prorectors. Each institution is governed by a senate composed of the rector, prorectors, deans (heads of faculties), and representatives of faculty councils. Faculty councils are made up of deans, heads of chairs, delegates of the teaching and scientific staffs, and student representatives.

Enrollment figures by type of school are given in table 5.

Admission Requirements

A student applying for higher studies must have the Certificate of Maturity *(Świadectwo Dojrzałości)* and must pass an entrance examination. Additional factors taken into consideration in student admissions are the number of applicants and openings available for a given specialty. See table 5 for statistics concerning openings in most of the major types of higher education institutions in 1975.

First-Degree Programs

The length of studies leading to the first degree in higher education institutions is from 4 to 6 years, depending on the institution and the field of study. Examinations are given at the end of each semester, but the number of subjects in which examinations are given varies each semester. The final semester is devoted to preparing a diploma project and studying for the diploma examination. Upon successfully completing required studies, the graduate receives the Diploma of Completion of Higher Studies *(Dyplom Ukończenia Studiów Wyższych)* and the title appropriate to the given specialization.

Some examples of fields of study, with the years required and the title given, are as follows:

Dentistry	(5)	*Lekarz-Dentysta* (Physician Dentist)
Law	(4)	*Magister Prawa* (Master of Law)
Medicine	(6)	*Lekarz* (Physician)
Physical Education	(4)	*Magister Wychowania Fizycznego* (Master of Physical Education)
Technical Studies	(4½)	*Magister Inżynier* (Master Engineer, in a particular field)
Veterinary Medicine	(5)	*Lekarz Weterynarii* (Doctor of Veterinary Medicine)

Graduate Degree Programs

Doctorate degrees require 2 years of study beyond the *Magister* diploma, plus the presentation of a thesis. The designations are formed by combining *Doktor* with an indication of the field of study, as in *Doktor Filosofii* (Doctor of Philosophy), *Doktor Inżynier* (Doctor-Engineer), and *Doktor Nauk Technicznych* (Doctor of Technical Sciences).

The degree of *Doktor Habilitacji* (literally, Habilitated Doctor) is a scientific degree conferred on the holder of a doctorate degree whose work represents an original contribution to the development of a given scientific discipline.

EDUCATION REFORMS

At a plenary session held in Warsaw on October 13, 1973, the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament) discussed and approved a resolution on the reform of Poland's school system.

The principal objective of the educational reform is the gradual introduction of a free, compulsory school of general education for grades 1 through 10 based on a uniform program in urban and rural areas. The reform would begin in 1978 and would be completed within a 5-year period.

In connection with the reform—

- Plans are being discussed to introduce 1 year of compulsory preschool education for all 6-year-olds.
- In rural areas experimental 8-year community (*gmina*) schools have been set up to assure that rural youth receive an elementary education comparable to that of their urban counterparts. The *gmina* schools are considered essential at present to achieving universal 10-year schooling, and will be continued as long as necessary. The number of *gmina* schools increased from 12 in 1972–73 to approximately 1,200 in 1974–75.
- Discussions are being held on the possible modification of the administration of vocational education and on various other methods to strengthen the system.
- Employed teachers are being given various opportunities to upgrade their qualifications; e.g., through (1) correspondence, evening, or part-time studies at a higher teacher-training institution, (2) use of radio-television programs, and (3) 2-week summer sessions.
- New curriculums, textbooks, and teaching aids are being designed to meet the requirements of the reformed school system.

A draft law of the proposed reform, to be submitted for approval to the *Sejm* by the end of 1975, will define a detailed program for the 10-year school.

Table 5.—Higher education graduates, 1972–73, and institutions, students, teachers, and other data, 1973–74, by type of institution

Type of Institution	1972–73	1973–74			
	Graduates	Institutions	Students	Teachers	Candidates per 100 openings
Total	60,284	87	394,904	41,227	---
Universities					
General	16,445	10	118,897	10,460	244
Technical	18,201	10	107,189	12,414	194
Other institutions by specialty					
Agriculture	5,570	7	37,927	3,971	255
Arts	855	16	6,393	1,585	307
Economics	3,913	6	27,270	1,978	191
Education:					
Higher Schools of Pedagogy (WSP)	4,607	6	24,722	1,142	252
Higher Teachers' Schools (WSN) [1]	1,917	6	11,916	565	241
Engineering	5,345	8	23,328	1,678	270
Medicine	3,919	10	24,947	6,479	302
Physical Education	1,376	6	10,550	831	314
Theology	136	2	1,755	124	---

[1] Includes the Maria Grzegorzewska State Institute of Special Education.

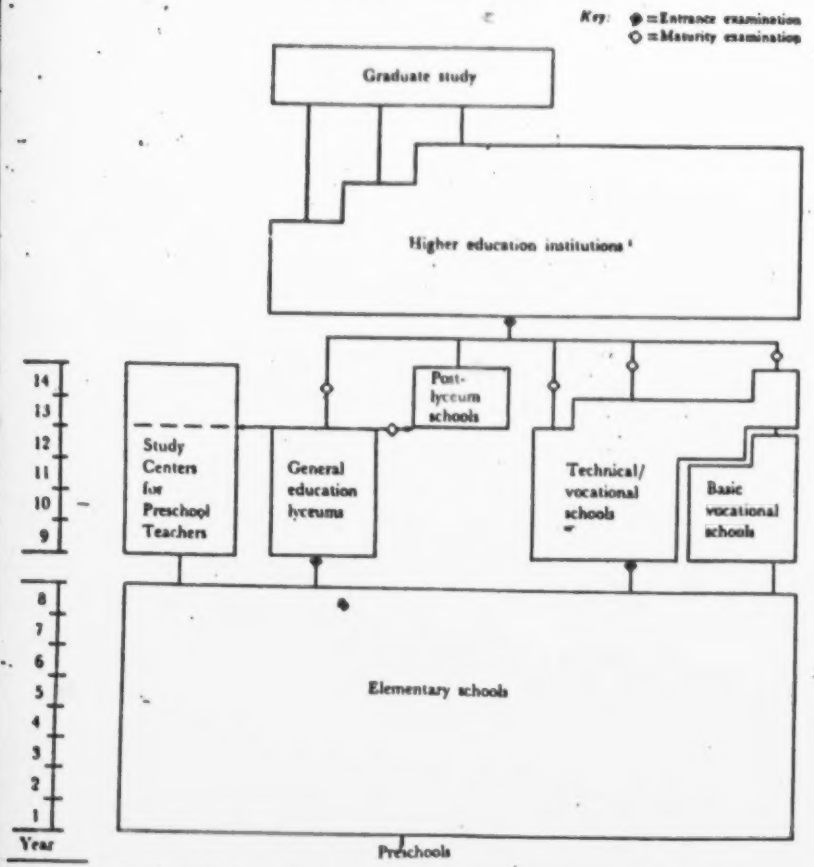
SOURCE: Adapted from Główny Urząd Statystyczny. *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1973/74* (Yearbook of Educational Statistics 1973–74). Warsaw: GUS, 1974. Pp. 172–73, 180, 221–22; and *Życie Szkoły Wyższej* (Higher School Life), XXII, no. 9, 1974. P. 8.

SELECTED GLOSSARY OF EDUCATIONAL TERMS

Polish	English
A	
Akademie Medyczne	Medical Academies
Akademie Rolnicze	Agricultural Academies
Akademie Sztuk Pięknych	Academies of Fine Arts
Akademie Teologiczne	Theological Academies
Akademie Wychowania Fizycznego	Academies of Physical Education
B	
bardzo dobry	very good
D	
dobry	good
Doktor	Doctor
Doktor Filosofii	Doctor of Philosophy
Doktor Habilitacji	Habilitated Doctor, a scientific degree conferred on the holder of a doctorate degree.
Doktor-Inżynier	Doctor-Engineer
Doktor Nauk Technicznych	Doctor of Technical Sciences
dostateczny	satisfactory
Dyplom Ukończenia Państwowej Szkoły Medycznej Techników Analityki	Diploma of Completion of the State School of Medicine for Analytical Technicians
Dyplom Ukończenia Studiów Wyższych	Diploma of Completion of Higher Studies
E	
Egzamin maturalny	Maturity examination, required for the Certificate of Maturity
Egzamin wstępny	Entrance examination
G	
Główny Komitet Kultury Fizycznej i Turystyki	Central Committee of Physical Culture and Tourism
Główny Urząd Statystyczny	Central Statistical Office
gmina schools	8-year experimental rural community schools

Polish	English
L	
Lekarz	Physician
Lekarz-Dentysta	Physician-Dentist
Lekarz Weterynarii	Doctor of Veterinary Medicine
Licea ogólnokształcące	General education lyceums
Licea pedagogiczne	Pedagogical lyceums
M	
Magister	Master
Magister Inżynier	Master Engineer
Magister Pedagogiki	Master of Pedagogy
Magister Prawa	Master of Law
Magister Wychowania Fizycznego	Master of Physical Education
Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki	Ministry of Culture and Art
Ministerstwo Nauki, Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Techniki	Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology
Ministerstwo Oświaty	Ministry of Education
Ministerstwo Oświaty i Szkolnictwa Wyższego	Ministry of Education and Higher Schools
Ministerstwo Oświaty i Wychowania	Ministry of Education and Upbringing
Ministerstwo Zdrowia i Opieki Społecznej	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
N	
niedostateczny	unsatisfactory
P	
Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe	State Scientific Publishers or Polish Scientific Publishers
przedszkole	preschool
S	
Studia Nauczycielskie	Teachers' courses
Studia podyplomowe	Graduate studies
Studia Wychowania Przedszkolnego	Study Centers for Preschool Teachers
szkoły ogólnokształcące	general education schools
szkoły podstawowe	elementary schools
szkoły policealne	postsecondary schools
szkoły pomaturalne	postsecondary schools
szkoły średnie	secondary schools
szkoły techniczne	technical schools
szkoły wyższe	higher schools (university level)
szkoły zawodowe	vocational schools
Ś	
Świadectwo	Certificate
Świadectwo Dojrzałości	Certificate of Maturity, a secondary school diploma required for admission to higher education
Świadectwo Dojrzałości Liceum Ogólnokształcącego	Certificate of Maturity of the General Education Lyceum
Świadectwo Ukończenia Szkoły Podstawowej	Certificate of Completion of the Elementary School
Świadectwo Ukończenia Szkoły Średniej	Certificate of Completion of Secondary Schooling
Świadectwo Ukończenia Zasadniczej Szkoły Zawodowej	Certificate of Completion of the Basic Vocational School
T	
Technik Analityki	Analytical Technician
U	
uniwersytety	universities
Uniwersytety Techniczne	technical universities
W	
Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Społecznych	Higher School of Social Sciences
Wyższe Szkoły Ekonomiczne	Higher Schools of Economics
Wyższe Szkoły Inżynierskie	Higher Schools of Engineering
Wyższe Szkoły Muzyczne	Higher Schools of Music
Wyższe Szkoły Nauczycielskie	Higher Teachers' Schools
Wyższe Szkoły Pedagogiczne	Higher Pedagogical Schools
Wyższe Szkoły Sztuk Plastycznych	Higher Schools of Plastic Arts
Wyższe Szkoły Teatralne	Higher Schools of the Theater Arts
Wyższe Szkoły Wychowania Fizycznego	Higher Schools of Physical Education
Z	
zasadnicze szkoły zawodowe	basic vocational schools

The Basic Educational System



[1] Includes universities, technical universities, and other higher education institutions specialising in various fields.

SOURCE: Adapted from Komitet Ekspertów. *Raport o Stanie Oświaty w PRL* (Report on the State of Education in the People's Republic of Poland). Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973. P. 479.

Table 1. Hours per week by grade level in each elementary school subject
[... indicates zero hours per week]

Subject	Grade							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total	18	21	23	25	28	30	32	32
Art	---	---	1	1	1	1	1	1
Biology	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	2
Chemistry	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2
Civic education	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	2
Geography	---	---	---	2	2	2	2	2
History	---	---	---	---	2	2	2	2
Languages:								
Polish language	8	10	9	9	7	7	5	5
Russian language	---	---	---	---	3	3	3	2
Mathematics	5	6	6	6	6	6	5	5
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nature study	---	---	2	2	2	---	---	---
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physics	---	---	---	---	---	2	3	3
Practical and technical studies	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3

SOURCES: Ministry of Education. *The Development of Education in the People's Republic of Poland in the School Year 1965-1966*, p. 10; and Ministry of Education and Higher Schools. *The Development of Education in the People's Republic of Poland on the School Year 1966-1967*, p. 9. Reports presented at the 29th and 30th International Conferences on Public Education in Geneva, July 1966 and July 1967, respectively.

Table 2.—Elementary and secondary education graduates, 1972–73, and schools, students, and teachers, 1973–74, by level and type of school
[... indicates no data given.]

Level or type	1972–73	1973–74		
	Graduates	Schools	Students	Teachers
Elementary	638,257	18,889	4,634,316	200,625
Secondary	348,353	6,198	1,465,078	...
General education lyceums	91,625	878	470,105	22,763
Technical and vocational schools	97,239	2,621	535,753	(1)
Basic vocational schools	143,613	2,287	405,176	...
Post-lyceum schools	15,878	412	54,044	(1)

[1] Teachers for technical and vocational schools and post-lyceum schools together total 32,602.

SOURCE: Adapted from Główny Urząd Statystyczny. *Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1973/74* (Yearbook of Educational Statistics 1973–74). Warsaw: GUS, 1974. Pp. 53, 55, 78, 83, 106, 108, 136, 139.

Table 3.—Hours per week by grade level in each subject in the secondary general education lyceum curriculum
[--- indicates zero hours per week]

Subject	Grade			
	9	10	11	12
Total	33	33	33	32
Arts (plastic arts and music)	2	1	1	---
Astronomy	---	---	---	1
Biology	---	2	2	2
Chemistry	2	2	2	---
Civics	---	---	---	3
Geography	2	2	2	---
History	3	2	3	2
Hygiene	---	---	---	1
Languages:				
Foreign language (English, French, or German)	4	4	3	3
Polish language	4	5	4	4
Russian language	3	3	3	2
Mathematics	5	4	4	3
Premilitary training	1	2	2	---
Physical education	2	2	2	2
Physics	3	2	3	3
Technical education	2	2	2	2
Elective	---	---	---	4

SOURCE: Adapted from U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, "Primary, Secondary School Issues Discussed," *Translations on Eastern Europe: Political, Sociological, and Military Affairs, No. 198* (JPRS: 50,200, 3/31/70). Pp. 91-92; (*Glos Nauczycielski*, Mar. 8, 1970, pp. 1, 2); and The Ministry of Education. *Les Rapports Entre L'Enseignement, La Formation Et L'Emploi [en ce qui concerne particulièrement l'enseignement du second degré, ses objectifs, sa structure et son contenu]* (Relationships Between Education, Training, and Employment, concerning particularly education on the secondary level, its objectives, structure, and content). Warsaw: The Ministry, 1972, p. 9. Response to a questionnaire from the Bureau of International Education.

Table 4.—Universities, with location and faculties: 1974[1]

Institution	Location	Faculties
General:		
Adam Mickiewicz University	Poznań	Biology and Earth Sciences Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry Philology Philosophy and History
Bolesław Bierut University	Wrocław	Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry Natural History Philology Philosophy and History
Catholic University of Lublin	Lublin	Canon Law Christian Philosophy Humanities Theology
Jagiellonian University	Cracow	Biology and Earth Sciences Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry Philology Philosophy and History
Maria Curie-Sklodowska University	Lublin	Biology and Geography Economics Humanities Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry
Nicholas Copernicus University	Toruń	Biology and Earth Sciences Fine Arts Humanities Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry
University of Gdansk	Gdańsk	Biology and Earth Sciences Economics of Production Economics of Transport Humanities Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry

[1] See footnote at end of table.

Table 4.—Universities, with location and faculties: 1974—Continued

Institution	Location	Faculties
University of Łódź	Łódź	Biology and Earth Sciences Economics and Sociology Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry Philology Philosophy and History
University of Silesia	Katowice	Arts Law and Administration Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry Technical Training
University of Warsaw	Warsaw	Biology Chemistry Geology History Law and Administration Mathematics and Mechanics Non-Slavonic Philologies Physics Psychology and Pedagogy Slavonic Philologies Social Sciences
Technical:		
Academy of Mining and Metallurgy	Cracow	Drilling and Petroleum Engineering Electrical Engineering in Mining and Metallurgy Engineering of Materials and Ceramics Foundry Engineering Geological Prospecting Metallurgy Mining Mining Geodesy Mining and Metallurgical Mechanics Non-Ferrous Metallurgy
Cracow Polytechnic	Cracow	Architecture Civil Engineering Hydraulic Engineering Industrial Chemistry Mechanical Engineering
Częstochowa Polytechnic	Częstochowa	Mechanical Engineering Metallurgy
Gdańsk Polytechnic	Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz	Chemistry Electrical Engineering Electronics Machine Building Mechanical and Technological Engineering
Wincenty Pstrowski Silesian Polytechnic	Gliwice	Automation Chemical Technology and Engineering Civil Engineering and Architecture Electrical Engineering Mathematics and Physics Mechanical Power Engineering Mechanical Technological Engineering Metallurgy Mining Engineering Organization of Production Sanitary Engineering

Table 4.—Universities, with location and faculties: 1974—Continued

Institution	Location	Faculties
Łódź Polytechnic	Łódź	Chemistry Civil Engineering Electrical Engineering Food Chemistry Mechanical Engineering Textiles
Poznań Polytechnic	Poznań	Chemical Engineering Civil Engineering Electrical Engineering Mechanical Technological Engineering Working Machinery and Vehicles Engineering
Szczecin Polytechnic	Szczecin	Chemical Technology Civil Engineering and Architecture Engineering and Economics of Transport Machine Construction and Shipbuilding
Warsaw Polytechnic	Warsaw	Architecture Chemistry Civil Engineering Electrical Engineering Electronics Engineering Fine Mechanics Geodesy and Cartography Machinery and Vehicle Engineering Mechanical and Production Engineering Mechanical Energetics and Aviation Sanitary and Water Engineering
Wrocław Polytechnic	Wrocław	Architecture Basic Problems of Technology Chemistry Civil Engineering Electrical Engineering Electronics Engineering Economics Mechanics Mining Power Engineering Sanitary Engineering

[1] All the universities except the private Catholic University of Lublin are supervised by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology.

SOURCE: Ministerstwo Nauki, Szkolnictwa Wyższego i Techniki. *Informator dla kandydatów na studia dzienne w szkołach wyższych na rok szkolny 1974/75* (Handbook for applicants to day studies at the higher education institutions for the 1974-75 school year). Warsaw/Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974. passim. and Polish Scientific Publishers. *Polish Research Guide* (TT 70-85137). Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974. Pp. 79-218.

OVERVIEW FOR CHAPTER 5 - EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

Attempts are being made in the Polish Educational system to utilize relevant and available television media and tele-teaching technology as areas for development. In the article, "Television and Higher Technical Education for Working People," by Ignacy Waniewicz, and in Janusz Tymowski's article on "Tele-Teaching Methods in Technical Education," we note how Polish authorities are focusing on making education available to technical and working classes through the use of T.V. media. This committment for information dissemination is also described in the article by Krystyna Boske, "Libraries for Politechnical Institutes in Poland."

OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 5

As a result of completing these readings and exercises, the reader should be able to:

Describe the innovations suggested by Polish authorities to make information and knowledge readily accessible to the working population

TELEVISION AND HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION OF WORKING PEOPLE

Ignacy Waniewicz, Director, Educational Programs, Polish Television

La Pologne a lancé, avec le concours de l'UNESCO, un programme expérimental unique au monde qui a pour but de préparer des ouvriers à suivre un enseignement technique supérieur. L'auteur de l'article est le Directeur des Programmes d'Enseignement à la Télévision polonaise.

Polonia ha obtenido ayuda de la UNESCO en un experimento único en su clase, en el esfuerzo para preparar a las masas trabajadoras para una más elevada educación técnica. El autor es el Director de los Programas Educacionales para la televisión polaca.

ЮНЕСКО оказала Польше помощь в уникальном опыте по обучению трудящихся высшему техническому образованию. Автор — директор программы по образованию в телевидении Польши.

For many years now, Polish educational authorities have been undertaking measures to make higher studies available not only to a growing number of secondary school graduates who wish to enter colleges and universities immediately, but also to those who have entered employment after receiving their secondary school diplomas, or who have completed their secondary school education after having entered employment. It is worth mentioning two important benefits of higher studies for people who have entered employment:

1. Persons engaged professionally can enroll in departments covering the field in which they seek to improve their qualifications: their practical experience greatly assists them in their studies and vice versa.
2. The system of studies for people already employed contributes to the further democratization of higher education.

A system of correspondence or evening studies does not overcome many basic difficulties involved in adult education. Colleges and universities offering evening courses are naturally limited in number, and located in the larger towns, so that people living or working in places distant from these establishments of higher

5.1 Waniewicz, Ignacy, "Television and Higher Technical Education of Working People," Convergence, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1968 pp. 18-22

education are deprived of this opportunity. Correspondence studies, in which the student is limited, for the most part, to the dry matter provided in the textbook, with only a minimum of illustration, are considerably difficult and uninviting, especially in the exact sciences. Small wonder, then, that many correspondence students give up in their first year of study, and many enthusiasts never actually decide to take a course.

It was therefore suggested that television be used in a higher education program for adults. In 1966, Polish Television, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, televised its first project in this field. Because Poland's industrial development increasingly demands persons with higher technical degrees, it was decided to begin with studies from the syllabus of the first four terms of technical college studies. The selection of engineering studies for the cooperative programming by the universities and television was difficult. But this field was chosen because it was the most popular with professionally employed people, who are especially vital to the national economy. There were two other favorable considerations:

1. The curricula of the first two years of study at engineering colleges had been unified — the first four terms were based on such subjects as physics, chemistry, mathematics, theoretical mechanics, and so on. This unification created an economically justified number of viewers.
2. The subjects included in the curriculum were well suited to audiovisual instruction.

The experimental series of television lectures covered mathematics and physics at the level offered in secondary schools, and was designed for those persons preparing to try the entrance examinations for higher-level evening and correspondence courses. The lectures started on February 14, 1966; twenty lectures in mathematics and twenty in physics were broadcast. The number of regular viewers — determined from sales of the *TV Lecture Information Guide* — was estimated at about 60,000. It would appear, though, from general interest shown, and from polls taken in various communities, that several hundred thousand people actually viewed the programs. No degree or certificate could be gained by following the series; its purpose was to assist the university candidates in mastering the knowledge ordinarily provided in secondary schools.

Programs covering the curriculum of first year studies at higher technical colleges were inaugurated on October 4, 1966. These included three lectures a week in mathematics, one a week in descriptive geometry, and one a week in chemistry; in all, there were five lectures a week, each lasting thirty minutes. In the first term, there were forty-nine lectures in mathematics, sixteen in descriptive geometry, and sixteen in chemistry. These lectures were viewed by about 10,000 students enrolled in first year correspondence or evening courses.

In the second term of the 1966-67 academic year, forty lectures in mathematics (two a week) and fifty-one lectures in physics (three a week) were broadcast. In 1967-68, the television lectures were extended to include both the first and second year courses, with five broadcasts per week of each course.

The first year students were provided with the same curricula as in 1966-67.

The second year students, that is, those starting the third term, were offered fifty-four lectures in mathematics, and thirty-six in physics; those in their fourth term, twenty-seven in physics, twenty-seven in strength of materials, and thirty-six in electrotechniques. The television lectures covered subjects included in college curricula; they did not, however, give instruction in all the material, but only in the more important sections, and in parts which the students would find difficult to master.

After a careful analysis of this form of instruction, it has been possible to introduce a new system of studies. In 1968-69, people who have completed their secondary school education and who are employed in professions where higher technical training would be beneficial will be permitted to take examinations at universities and colleges on subjects compulsory in the first year of studies, and will be taught by means of the television lectures. Those who obtain satisfactory results will be accepted for direct entry into the second year of higher technical evening and correspondence courses.

Should the results of television instruction prove satisfactory, it may be possible to substitute all first year college lectures with television programs; eventually, all extramural candidates could be accepted directly into the second year courses, and perhaps even into the fourth term. The entrance examinations would then cover material included in the television lectures in the first two or, possibly, three terms. The implementation of such an undertaking would demand:

1. Extension of lectures to cover subjects which are not yet included in the television lectures; for example, lectures on the first year course of foreign languages and political economy could be undertaken;
2. An increase in the number of lectures so as to include the complete course of study in mathematics, chemistry, and descriptive geometry;
3. Possible arrangement of laboratory facilities in local secondary, general, or vocational schools, for practical classes for students in areas distant from a college.

Such a solution would help many students to organize their studies and regulate their undertakings according to their free time; for instance, they could master the material of the first year course in two years. In many cases the student would be able to see for himself whether he was in a position to take up studies. This might prevent him from enrolling and later finding, to his discouragement, that he has to drop out.

At present, the television lectures are viewed at home by students who have enrolled individually or at the colleges. In areas distant from a college, the students usually see the programs at local consultation centers, where the broadcasts are organized by the colleges in the larger industrial establishments throughout the country. Consultants assigned by the colleges to the centers provide assistance and offer additional explanations in the various subjects. The number of these consultation centers is constantly increasing.

The lectures are prepared and presented by distinguished specialists in the given subjects, chosen from among university professors throughout the country.

The script is prepared with close cooperation between the lecturer and the producers; one of the basic objectives is to coordinate the appropriate pedagogic approach and the audiovisual aspect of the lecture. The programs are becoming increasingly varied, visually, and are including a wider variety of material: for example, live or filmed experiments, specially produced animated films, models and captions of all kinds.

The greatest difficulties are didactic problems, such as those to be discussed here. It is quite obvious that a lecture given in the studio before television cameras cannot be a direct repetition of one given in the lecture hall, if only because the television studio lacks the element of rapport between lecturer and students. The lecture's rhythm, its logical structure, its approach to certain problems, and finally, the method of capturing and retaining the students' interest have to be reconstructed on a completely different basis.

In certain subjects, and especially in mathematics, we come up against visual difficulties. Often, the professor who is solving a certain mathematical problem on a blackboard, for example, has to take up a lot of space which may be difficult to pick up simultaneously on the television screen. The camera's coverage of only parts at a time of what the professor is writing may impede the understanding of the logics of the whole.

As already indicated, the amount of time television can assign to higher technical education programs is limited, so the lectures can cover only selected areas in the given subject. From this limitation arises a new problem: should the television lectures be of a recapitulatory nature, summing up broad sections of the material, or should they be of an analytical nature, studying only selected subjects in detailed examination?

Another problem occurs because of the type of student to which the programs are mainly addressed: that is, the working man. He is not among the easiest to reach; he cannot devote as much time to studying as can the full-time student; in addition, he is very often insufficiently acquainted with background material because of breaks in studies, or because of the time gap between his leaving school and his taking up higher studies. The lecturers invited to take part in the televised series are not always, in spite of their high qualifications, fully prepared for reaching this type of student and coping with the television screen's specific demands.

As all the lectures in various subjects are not delivered by the same professor, but by several, from a number of colleges, much effort has to be put into working out a suitable coordination of the techniques employed by the various professors.

Many of the above problems may be solved only through experience and experiment. Some appear resolved; others are still a long way from a satisfactory solution. New problems arise constantly, and certain solutions require detailed analysis, ingenuity, and patience on the part of both teachers and television staff.

The question of textbooks assumes special significance in so far as the television lectures do not cover all the course material; for the extramural student, the textbook is the only link between periodic television lectures. As we had

not beforehand been in a position to prepare textbooks fully geared to the needs of the television programs and to the nature of television instruction, we had to select one textbook on each subject from among those which already existed, and recommend it to the television student. Previously, each college used its own choice.

To assist the students following the television lectures, a special *Study Guide* has been compiled containing general remarks, suggestions as to methods of learning for extramural students, the full compulsory university curricula, the timetable of the television lectures, together with the main points covered in each lecture, and keyed by page references to the textbooks.

The next step in the direction of establishing links with the students viewing the programs was the contact made through the *Przeglad Techniczny* (*Technical Review*) weekly, the main organ of the Federation of Technical Societies in Poland (NOT). *Przeglad Techniczny* regularly publishes information related specifically to the various lectures planned for broadcasting during the week. This information is prepared by the lecturers themselves; it includes an extensive summary of each lecture, and provides the formulas and diagrams which will be used but which are not included in the textbook for that subject.

Recently undertaken publications comprising the full texts of the lectures in mathematics, descriptive geometry, and physics could be considered as the first move toward a textbook fully geared to the needs of the project.

The Inter-College Center for Research on Higher Education, at the Ministry of Education, has been entrusted with studies of the effectiveness of the television lectures. The Center has set up a special body composed of educationists, psychologists, and sociologists who have been charged with research and evaluations.

The work started in Poland has attracted the attention of UNESCO, and this has resulted in the signing of an agreement between Poland and UNESCO under which this organization is to receive information on the results of the Polish experiments.

Many observations have spotlighted a number of advantages offered by the television lectures. The programs are viewed more and more often by day students in the same fields of study. It has also been established that the programs are increasingly viewed by secondary school teachers wishing to raise their qualifications. Technical college graduates make use of the programs to refresh and extend their knowledge in the theoretical subjects. Scientific workers and academic staff at centers of higher education follow the television lectures with keen interest and are thus given the possibility of taking a look at what their colleagues are doing, comparing methods of delivering lectures, and observing methods of applying modern teaching aids, which are still so inadequately employed in colleges and universities. The television lectures stimulate interest and discussion, not to mention the competition which they have aroused between the various college chairs whose occupants conduct the lectures.

JANUSZ TYMOWSKI *Professor, Politechnika, Warszawsk.

Tele-teaching methods in technical education

MY PRESENT CONSIDERATIONS concerning 'remote control' methods in vocational training are based chiefly upon Polish experience but they could be employed in most countries of Central Europe, particularly in the East.

Since World War II, Poland, like other socialist countries, has developed a highly complex system of education for employees enabling any employee to continue his education at any level and virtually at any age. Instruction is provided by existing secondary and higher education schools in the form of evening and extramural studies.

Evening studies are intended for employees living in or near the towns and cities where higher schools are located, with easy communication making regular participation in the classes possible. The classes are held four times a week, in the afternoon and evening, and the methods of instruction are in principle the same as in day studies. Extramural, remote-control instruction is intended for those who either live far off or because of their job cannot participate in the classes as often as necessary in the evening system.

Proper vocational practice combined with employment in the vocation compatible with the chosen type of education are required at any studies for employees in Poland. This results from the curricula which treat professional work as a kind of complement to the instruction received at higher school.

In the main, extramural studies make use of traditional methods, ie:—
individual work of a student in which he is helped by specially prepared booklets and handbooks as well as by methodological advice; a tendency towards use of programmed handbooks is the only novelty.

Written assignments are submitted at appointed time, sent by post to the school and corrected there.

Participation in obligatory meetings organised on school premises, usually once a month and lasting for 2-3 days, mostly on Saturdays and Sundays—altogether 80-100 hours in a term. The meetings are devoted chiefly to design and laboratory work, seminars and tutorials; they give a student a chance of direct contact with his school, a sense of belonging to a group consisting of other students, as well as enabling him to assess the level of his colleagues' knowledge.

To make the work of extramural students easier by reducing the amount of time spent on travelling the so-called tutorial centres are set up at selected industrial plants, at people's councils and other institutions interested in the vocational education of their employees, as well as at other higher schools that do not normally provide instruction in this particular branch of studies.

Tutorial meetings and repeat classes are conducted there by non-resident teachers employed by a higher school located in this particular region.

At the centre there should be lecture halls and properly equipped laboratories and workshops as well as a library suitable for the particular branch of studies.

In numerous cases tutorial centres evolved into local branches of those higher schools that had conducted the classes though with non-resident teaching staff. Yet there are several quite serious disadvantages of the teaching method presented above. Long breaks between the meetings at which a student must display the acquired knowledge tend to encourage sudden fits of learning immediately before the meeting, or even before the examinations. There exists no factor inducing to regular work. When tutorial help can be obtained virtually only during the meetings those students who have difficulties in understanding certain sections of the material are unable to progress in their studies and waste a lot of time.

Obligatory classes on Saturdays and Sundays, in the afternoon and evening, together with the necessity of travelling to the tutorial centres makes lecturing at the classes for employees unpopular among senior academic staff. Therefore tutorial duties are taken up by younger, still unexperienced teachers. (This applies to both extramural and evening studies.) As the classes involve travelling the tutors tend to accumulate their teaching hours in order to decrease the amount of travelling and resulting loss of time. It is not exceptional to arrange 4-6 hours of classes in the same subject in one day. This is contrary to all educational theory.

Therefore the average efficiency of the studies for employees, and extramural studies in particular, is rather low and the average proficiency of the graduates differs to a considerable degree both from that represented by the graduates of day studies and from the assumed models.

That is why the search for methods of improving higher technical studies for employees have turned towards radio and television. Television particularly offers numerous possibilities of enriching a lecture through the use of film insertions, trick films and other aids unavailable even at fairly well equipped schools.

Lectures broadcast regularly on appointed days create certain patterns clearly encouraging systematic work. Because of the very large audiences it is possible to secure the cooperation of outstanding lecturers and the students may listen to lectures of high quality—not possible at tutorial centres or even at small provincial universities. Simultaneously teaching staff from the regional universities employed as counsellors are offered excellent examples of lecturing methods.

5.2 Tymowski, Janusz, "Tele-teaching Methods in Technical Education," Educational Media International, March 1974, pp. 22-26

However, very careful selection is necessary of lecturers appearing on television, as not every good professor makes a good television lecturer. TV is merciless in detecting any faults of elocution, appearance or personality. Working conditions in a television studio, ie the necessity of team work, the lack of direct contact with the audience, combined with the knowledge of being watched by thousands of viewers including critically minded colleagues, makes it difficult for many lecturers. In our experience, the best results were achieved by young staff ready to experiment and not afraid of their colleagues' criticism.

Yet it is necessary to remember that TV instruction alone is not sufficient. The students must have available suitable handbooks correlated with the lectures. These are essential to fix the given information in the students' memory without the necessity of taking notes. Taking notes is necessary when the lecture deals only with difficult parts of the material but tends to attract the viewers' attention from the screen. The students must also be given a complete curriculum and a list of television lectures, with appropriate chapters of the handbook related to each lecture.

For self-assessment the students must have problems to solve. These must include problems with solution methods applicable to each chapter and also problems of all types to solve individually, though with given answers. The test questions are given either during lectures or in the press.

The student must have fairly easy access to his tutor in order to clear up queries or to get help in solving the problems. The best results are achieved through group TV watching of a lecture in the presence of the tutor. After the lecture he answers questions and explains the more obscure parts of the material and then helps in solving the problems. Such an arrangement is rather expensive but it can be employed with groups of 20-30 students. If they are less numerous it is advisable to combine groups of students—it makes discussion and the resulting explanation of doubtful points possible. The remaining doubts must be cleared by the tutors.

Until now the counsellors were non-resident and recruited from the teaching staff of the school at which the students had been enrolled. This has certain disadvantages. The tutor is available once a week, in some cases even once a fortnight, and at fixed hours that may not be convenient for some students. Also he may not always be able to devote sufficient time to each student.

Two experiments were conducted on a limited scale: tuition by telephone and tuition by local teachers. The results of the former were rather discouraging but the latter was approved as worthy of continuation. In the experiment, secondary school (general and vocational) teachers recommended by regional education boards were employed as tutors. The teachers were regularly instructed by university departments responsible for particular subjects.

In this way the students were able to receive tuition from teachers living in the same locality. The employment of secondary school teachers as counsellors creates a bond between secondary schools and higher education and has a stimulating effect on the teachers, increasing their influence and making it easier to update their qualifications.

In technical departments, laboratory and practical work present a fair degree of difficulty. The solution employed by the Open University, ie supplying each student with a home experiment kit enabling him thus to carry out certain typical experiments in the home is excellent but only available to a rich country. In Poland, so far, laboratory work is done at the schools during the monthly meetings. Inclusion of the local secondary schools should make it possible to carry out some of these experiments in the school laboratories. Drawing assignments are done at home and sent to the school to be assessed. Some, however, are done during the meetings to check if the student can perform the task unaided. In senior grades of technical departments, assignments are if possible coordinated with the enterprise employing the student so that he can treat the assignment as normal work done for the employer.

In extramural studies, the use of television can lessen the number of meetings required while raising the level considerably. Yet there are several obstacles limiting the scope of TV. The number of television channels at the disposal of European countries is usually small—two at most. Polish television transmits its programmes in two channels but at present only big urban agglomerations remain within the range of the second channel. The interests of the watching population and some twelve thousand students clash. Therefore the so-called Television Technical University during the few years of its existence has been allocated broadcasting hours either too early or too late for full-time workers. According to our investigations, inconvenient transmission hours are the main reason for student dropout. Possibilities of radio are greater, yet radio lectures have proved less useful in technical education.

Quite far-reaching specialisation poses another difficulty in applying TV to technical studies. Unlike Britain and the United States, and to a lesser degree France, not only do particular branches of technical studies—eg mechanics and electrical engineering—have different curricula, but also each branch is sub-divided into several specialties demanding further differentiation of curricula. Therefore many parallel lectures for relatively small groups of students would be necessary.

That is why in Poland, even after unifying the curricula of various branches of studies, only the first year of technical studies has one programme in common. Third and fourth terms bring differences in curricula but some common subjects are retained. From the fifth term onwards complete differentiation of curricula is becoming apparent. This limits the use of radio and television to extensive programmes in the first year and chosen subjects in the second. In senior grades the application of these media is virtually impossible.

Still one should stress the immense role television lectures have in arousing interest in the subjects and encouraging people to take up university studies. Spreading popular know-

ledge about the branches of science discussed and the influence on methods of presenting lectures and the application of modern teaching methods are additional indirect advantages of these lectures. According to our investigations, approximately eight persons listen to the lectures because of personal interest to every student to whom they are addressed. These people could not be reached other than by television

In Poland, television broadcasts a preparatory course for higher technical studies and lectures intended for the first year of these studies. In 1972/73, lectures of extramural agricultural secondary school were started. The foundation course starts in October 1973, and the radio and television university for teachers is being organised at present. It seems that television lectures should be continued either for groups of students and teachers who live in different parts of the country, or in industry when the lectures can be broadcast during working hours, as industry is interested in speedy instruction of its employees. The foundation course lectures are particularly important for they help employee students to brush-up their knowledge before starting higher education as well as creating chances of equal opportunities at university entrance examinations for secondary school applicants from small towns and villages where the level of teaching is often considerably lower than in large towns and cities.

The use of video-tape and cassette recorders is the future of extramural studies. Though this kind of equipment is still rare, constant reduction of the cost encourages its growing use. It has already become established in the case of recorders. Schools and instruction centres sponsored by industrial plants and social organisations will be able to obtain this equipment in the near future.

Preserving all the advantages of television the methods permit the repetition of the lectures at the hours most suitable for the students. There are two possibilities. Lectures can be broadcast either by radio or by television at a time when there are normally no transmissions, eg during the night or very early in the morning, then recorded on tape in individual centres and played back later to the students. The other, much better solution, suggests that the recordings should be done in one centre where they can be duplicated to the necessary number of copies and sent to a library of tape-recordings which subsequently lends them to particular centres, and in future also to individual students.

Tape-recorded lectures are obviously the cheapest. They are sufficient in arts subjects. In technical departments they may be used for general subjects: political economy, sociology and psychology. The scope of the application of tape-recorders which are cheaper than video-tape-recorders may be enlarged with sets of slides, or even pictures and large-scale illustrations. It will suffice in those instances in which there is no need to present movement, ie lectures on mathematics, technical drawing and parts of technical mechanics. Unlike television lectures, canned lectures can be repeated any number of times. The best method of instruction is to present one complete lecture, then to repeat its particular sections, and proceed further only after checking that everything has been comprehended.

Other features of extramural studies remain unchanged. It is necessary to provide method guides, handbooks, sets of problems, and tutors as well as to organise regular meetings for seminars and laboratory work. The use of tapes permits the employment of remote control methods during the whole period of studies. Careful editing of the tapes should be done by a team consisting of the lecturer—a specialist in the given subject—television specialists, educationists, and an artist-graphic designer. The tape-recording of a lecture delivered in the same way as a face-to-face lecture serves as initial material. The recording is analysed by the team who decide which sections need modification or complementing by better illustration material—

film insertions, trick films, slides, charts, tables, etc. After the necessary adjustments, the lecturer prepares a new script, whilst other workshops develop their respective materials. The written material need not contain a transcript of the lecture. It is rather an abstract containing those elements that would be written down by the student, ie notions, definitions, diagrams of networks, important relationships, etc. It aims at freeing the student from the necessity of taking down notes, thus enabling him to concentrate on the lecture. It should also provide answers, permitting the student to self-assess his comprehension of the lecture. Thirty minutes is the optimum lecture unit.

When editing the tape one should not aim at high artistic level as professional TV directors do, but on presenting material that is best from pedagogic and didactic viewpoints and which provides for the possibility of the students' active participation.

After recording, the lecture is played back to the team and when their approval has been given it is duplicated and then its exploitation begins.

Undoubtedly this will be the method of the future. It will be possible to employ it in day studies also and it will take over some of the more routine duties of lecturers.

Libraries of polytechnical institutes in Poland

by Krystyna Boska (Chief Librarian of the Faculty of Chemistry) and Jadwiga Przygocka (Head of the Department of Scientific Information), Łódź Polytechnical Institut..

Describes the present state and activities of libraries of polytechnical institutes in Poland.

When we look at the libraries of Poland's polytechnical institutes (or technical universities) as they are today, we must bear in mind the state they were in at the end of the Second World War. Only one-third of the library collections had survived the disaster, and more than 20 per cent of their staff had been lost. Of the four polytechnical institute libraries which existed before the war, one was completely gutted, the collections of the second had been largely pillaged and carried off and the rest consigned to the flames, 70 per cent of the collections of the third, Wroclaw Polytechnic, were unusable; and the fourth had lost 25 per cent of its pre-war collections.

After the war, the collections had to be reconstituted in haste, but the materials thus hastily assembled were of very uneven quality and have in the long run proved an encumbrance. The greatest hindrance to the proper functioning of the libraries was lack of professional experience on the part of the staff.

A decree of 1952, amended in 1958, clearly defined the status and duties of the libraries of the specialized higher educational institutions; these duties go beyond the four walls of the particular institution, for these libraries also serve as public libraries, and they co-ordinate the activities of the network of specialized libraries belonging to the faculties or institutes. The central library of a specialized higher institution must take part in the educational activities of the institution, while at the same time carrying out its own research activities. Since 1958, the directors of the central libraries have been given a seat on their institute's council, a fact which testifies to their importance.

In 1964 the structure of the libraries of polytechnical institutes was fixed and defined by law. They comprise the following services: accessions; processing and distribution of books; information, document reproduction and preservation services. In addition, the major libraries share certain tasks with the libraries belonging to the network: research, organization of scientific and teaching activities, formation of special collections.

Staff

In 1970 the staff of the central libraries of the polytechnical institutes numbered 477, of whom 197 had completed a higher-education course (23 in librarianship and 6 in library technology). A characteristic feature is the average age of staff: 87 per cent are under 50 years of age. The profession of librarian seems to be practically a female preserve, as 88 per cent of staff are women. It should also be noted that fully qualified librarians who have received advanced training (classified in the same category as research workers and teachers) represent 10.2 per cent of the total staff in the central libraries of the specialized higher-educational institutions; the employees of the library services (67 per cent) also include librarians and departmental heads with advanced professional qualifications.

Although there has been a marked improvement in salaries in the central libraries during the past fifteen years, and the number of employees has doubled, there is still a shortage of personnel in the libraries of the network.

Many staff members go in for in-service training. Out of the total of 477 employees, 70 are attending courses, 42 at higher and 28 at secondary level. In the ten polytechnical institute libraries, three staff members hold a doctorate in librarianship and two are following advanced courses of study in librarianship.

A certain number of librarians are taking the post-graduate courses in scientific information organized by the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools, the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Institute of Scientific, Technical and Economic Information (IINTE). Library employees with secondary education follow courses at the National Centre for Correspondence Training in Librarianship in Warsaw. Many of them are also taking courses in foreign languages.

Premises

Considering that some 10,000 research workers and teachers and some 110,000 students use the services of these libraries, the premises are quite obviously inadequate: out of a total of ten libraries, only one has a building of its own, the remainder being housed in specially adapted but cramped premises which prevent them expanding. Comparing the situation in 1955 with that in 1970, we find that the surface areas of the libraries have increased by 46 per cent in fifteen years, whereas the number of readers has increased by 89 per cent and the size of the collections by 424 per cent by comparison with 1955. Apart from the library of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy, which is housed in a modern building, the average surface area of a polytechnical institute library is 1,112 square metres. 40.5 per cent of which is occupied by stack-rooms, 34.5 per cent by reading-rooms and 25 per cent by workshops.

By 1980 a great improvement in library accommodation is expected through the erection of new buildings and the enlarging of existing premises.

Collections

The libraries of the polytechnical institutes build up their collections in accordance with the research and teaching requirements of the institutes and of the region. The acquisitions policy is determined by the subjects taught in the institute and the special requirements of the region.

The central libraries are responsible for co-ordinating the collections of the libraries in the network under their authority and organizing distribution. A central library organizes collections as a rule according to the following categories: (a) general technical works; (b) single copies of foreign works bought with foreign currency which may be of use to a number of different faculties; (c) works relating to the subjects taught in the institute and students' textbooks.

Faculty libraries are more specialized and collect periodicals and serial publications. The libraries of individual departments, which have now been grouped together into institutes, find it necessary to add to their collections as a result of the expansion of their activities.

The other libraries of the network act independently of the central library, as

5.3 Boska, Krystyna, "Libraries of Politechnical Institutes in Poland," Unesco Bulletin for Libraries, Vol. 27, No. 2, Mar-Apr., 1973, pp. 98-103

regards the acquisition of books published in Poland itself, but the central libraries are consulted in the case of requests for the importation of books or periodicals, the final decision resting with the council of the institute.

The purchase of foreign publications presents difficulties owing to the shortage of foreign currency and delays in delivery, which is sometimes more than six months after the order is placed. Subscriptions to foreign periodicals also call for careful planning of the sector's acquisitions, in view of the limited funds allocated for subscriptions. Institute libraries and the libraries of the region thus co-operate in order to avoid duplication. With this object in view, the central libraries draw up union catalogues of foreign periodicals; in addition, lists published by the National Library and the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools are distributed on a nation-wide basis. Each of the ten libraries currently receives 553 periodicals from the dollar zone and 300 from the rouble zone.

Great importance is attached to exchanges of publications with foreign countries and by this means our libraries acquired 4,277 volumes, or 8 per cent of total acquisitions, in 1970, and 3,000 issues of periodical publications. The library of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy is the one that carries out the greatest number of exchanges: it maintains relations with 296 foreign institutions.

In addition to purchasing books, the central libraries acquire duplicated texts of lectures and textbooks for students. The principle generally applied is one textbook for every five to ten students.

Special collections form an important part of the book stock, totalling 1,177,900 copies or 42 per cent of the whole. They consist mainly of patents and standard specifications, catalogues of firms, brochures, microcopies, manuscripts, and sound recordings.

Alphabetical and subject catalogues of the collections are kept. The libraries have adopted the European system of classification and books are classified according to the alphabetical order of the first word or subject heading. For subject catalogues, the majority have adopted the Universal Decimal Classification. Apart from the above-mentioned catalogues, each library possesses special catalogues—catalogues of periodicals, standard specifications, patents, firms, microfilms, theses—as well as auxiliary catalogues of rapid-reference books. Each library has its own system for the processing of special collections. The central catalogue listing the collections of the whole network is particularly useful as it enables one to determine in which library a particular book can be located.

Readers' service

The figures for reading-rooms, home lending and inter-library loans are continually mounting. This trend is very marked in the case of the only library with its own premises: in the years 1955–70 there was an increase of 400 per cent in the numbers of people using the reading-rooms, and of 900 per cent in the number of books loaned or borrowed.

The reading-rooms provide excellent working conditions thanks to the free access to shelves, a bibliographical information service, and the linguistic or audio-visual aids available on the spot. In 1970, some 1,553,180 items from the collections were lent to some 637,000 readers, i.e. an average of 2.4 items per customer.

Reading-rooms with a total seating capacity of 1,840 are open in all the centres every day except Sunday. There is no home lending of reading-room, rapid-reference works. Each library has a duplicating unit where photocopies can be made of material which is not lent out. Increasing use is made of copies for inter-library loans.

The main collections are available for home lending. The obligations of readers who borrow books to take home are specified in regulations drawn up by the libraries. Ample facilities are given to the teachers and researchers of the institute, who are able to borrow books, periodicals and, occasionally, special works. Students, who represent on an average 82 per cent of borrowers, can take out from three to ten books a month, and may renew them. If the regulations are infringed, the right to borrow is suspended.

Information

One of the chief tasks of the libraries of the polytechnical institutes is to provide information. In 1970 they supplied 112,986 items of information, 31,187 of them bibliographical, and replied to 30 inquiries from abroad; the libraries of Szczecin and Łódź, for example, dealt respectively with 37,455 and 25,000 requests of this nature.

The information service is enabled to work more rapidly by the fact that the polytechnical institutes possess telex machines and are linked by a network of teleprinters with institutions which have general catalogues, such as the National Library in Warsaw (BN), the Institute of Scientific, Technical and Economic Information (IINTE), the Polish Committee for Standardization (PKN), etc. The Scientific Information Departments (OIN) of the polytechnical institutes draw up bibliographical descriptions at the request of certain clients.

The polytechnical institute libraries also organize exhibitions, 379 of them in 1970, mostly exhibitions of recent acquisitions, which are renewed each time and display 30-100 items. They are most frequently held to mark 'Education Day', 'Book Day' and 'Press Day', and the regular event entitled 'Man, the World, and Politics'. They are also organized when conferences are held in the institutes.

The OIN do a great deal of work connected with the institute's research activities and keep up-to-date files on these activities, obtain publications for teachers and researchers, deal with their missions abroad and with translations carried out at the institute. The information thus collected is used to compile scientific information guides.

The OIN are well organized: they possess a library of about one thousand rapid-reference works, general catalogues, books and periodicals, bibliographies of summaries of periodicals and analytical abstracts, guides to Polish and foreign scientific institutes, biographical dictionaries, programmes of scientific congresses, lists of lectures and syllabuses of the specialized higher institutions, and works on law, statistics and librarianship. The catalogues of Polish and foreign publishers are studied daily to keep information on current literature constantly up to date.

The activities of OIN also include the keeping of card-indexes. Six of the polytechnical-institute libraries collect and add to the cards issued by the Institute of Scientific, Technical and Economic Information. Several of these libraries possess card-indexes on doctoral theses presented in the institute and on the degree examinations, and lists of foreign periodicals available in the region. The Szczecin Library possesses catalogues of industrial literature and the foreign technical press. The Library of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy keeps a card-index on the history of the Polish technical institute, and the Łódź Library one on foreign patents.

The staffs of the OIN are small but highly specialized. Particular stress is laid on the formation of specialized information units in the faculty libraries. The scientific information department of the main library thus plays a co-ordinating role, with an emphasis on scientific and educational research, and especially on the methodology of information.

In 1967, in conformity with the trend towards a closer relationship between research and education, the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools concluded

an agreement with the Academy of Sciences for co-operation in scientific information. The information network of the two institutions is co-ordinated by the academy's Scientific Information Documentation Centre (ODIN PAN) for all matters of education, organization, methodology and information publications.

A decree issued by the Council of Ministers in 1971 on scientific and technical information in Poland opens up new prospects for the development of library information centres, but before they can become a reality the work of these centres will have to at least be partially automated.

Educational and research activities

As early as 1956, certain libraries began playing an active educational role. From 1960 onwards, these activities have increased as a result of legal measures adopted by the Ministry of Education and Higher Studies and a Council of Ministers' decree of 1971.

In nine out of ten of the polytechnical-institute libraries, courses are organized for five categories of library users: first-year students, students preparing their degree, teaching staff or researchers preparing a thesis for a doctorate, students of librarianship, and students from outside the institute.

Courses lasting from two to three hours for groups of about thirty people initiate first-year students into library organization and how to use the libraries. As a rule these courses are compulsory and include exercises under supervision and lectures.

Seven libraries have, for some years, provided courses in scientific information. The number of people attending these courses does not exceed 1,000 in any one year. The curriculum includes fundamentals of the methodology of research, an introduction to the Universal Decimal Classification, the classification of patents and standard specifications, and instruction in the use of reference publications. The courses in scientific information are usually held with the co-operation of the teaching staff of the institute, and form part of the programme of the degree tutorial sessions, which are given to groups not exceeding fifteen in number and have a programme taking up from three to twelve hours.

Similar tutorial groups, with a rather more advanced programme for young teachers or researchers who are preparing to take their doctorate, are held in three polytechnical institutes; so far over 100 people have attended them.

Courses for students of librarianship and for students participating in inter-faculty librarianship courses are another type of training provided by the central libraries of the polytechnical institutes. Information, documentation and processing of collections are compulsory subjects on these courses. They are held in four libraries; the number of trainees varies, and the courses last between a fortnight and a month.

Courses are also organized for students taking the lower-level course in librarianship and for employees of the branch libraries of the network.

The librarianship teachers are recruited from among fully qualified librarians and library department heads, and represent 15 per cent of the total staff. This figure ought to be increased, in view of the development in this field.

Publications

The task of the polytechnical institute libraries in this respect is to circulate publications concerning their own collections or those of the region, and documentation on the institute's research activities. Nearly all the libraries publish acquisition lists of books and periodicals. Some centres have also published

general catalogues of the foreign press for the region, or general catalogues for special subjects.

Information booklets for the use of library readers form another category of publications. The Kraków, Łódź and Częstochowa institutes have participated in the preparation of such publications. Recently, several polytechnical institutes have published guides for the use of industry in the region, informing it of the research done by the institute and the services the latter can offer to industry.

Nearly all the libraries publish retrospective and current bibliographies, and treatises by the teachers and researchers of the institute. Some libraries publish bibliographical reviews for the information of the region or on its activities. The Kraków Polytechnic Library now prepares special bibliographies at the request of researchers. Some libraries have recently published reading lists for students.

Many of the libraries have collaborated in the production of general publications such as the *Book encyclopaedia* and the *Biographical dictionary of Polish bookmen*. Reports drawn up by the polytechnical institutes have recently been submitted to conferences of librarians. Representatives of Polish polytechnical-institute libraries also participate in conferences abroad.

The librarians of the polytechnical institutes have lately tended to specialize in their research. Thus, for example, the Library of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy specializes in the architecture of library buildings, and its director, W. Piasecki, has obtained important finding in this domain.

J. Carrni, the principal of Kraków Polytechnic, is specially concerned with educational problems. S. Wielopolska, at Szczecin, is making a special study of the organization of research in libraries, and the libraries of Łódź and Częstochowa are studying the problems of technical and scientific information in higher schools.

The results of research on librarianship undertaken by librarians are published in *Roczniki bibliotezne, Przegląd bibliotezny, Bibliotekarz, Biuletyn ODIN PAN* and others.

Co-operation between libraries

The activities of the polytechnical-institute libraries are carried out in close co-operation with the parent institution, the regional information and documentation centres, and similar national institutes such as the National Library, IINTE and ODIN PAN. The Union of Polish Librarians plays a leading part in this respect.

Co-operation between the libraries of specialized higher-educational institutions takes the form of exchanges of printed matter, inter-library loans, and sometimes joint research.

Thanks to the co-operation established with various other institutes, the information service provided by the polytechnical-institute libraries is improving and becoming more efficient.

The activities of the Polish polytechnical-institute libraries described in this article are evidence of the great efforts which have been made, often under difficult conditions, and which have already begun to bear fruit, carrying on the Polish tradition and conception of progress.

CHAPTER 6 - BIBLIOGRAPHY ON EDUCATION IN POLAND

A STUDENT'S BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT, ACCESSIBLE, ENGLISH LANGUAGE MATERIALS ON POLISH EDUCATION

by

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Publication #10
Graduate Adult Educator
Program

6.1 Stambler, Moses, "A Student's Bibliography of Current, Accessible, English Language Materials on Polish Education," Graduate Adult Educator Program at Southern Connecticut State College, Publication #10

Students interested in researching Polish education as well as the other educational systems in Eastern Europe, often find the task somewhat difficult and frustrating because of the language barrier. This problem often leads to a student shifting the research to a more manageable area despite possible great interest in Poland. This bibliography has been developed for non-Polish speaking students in Comparative Education to facilitate their working with otherwise inaccessible materials , and gain greater insights into the content and process of Polish education.

The bibliography has been divided into part A, the short part on "Books and Booklets, Overview," and part B, the long part, on "Periodicals." The book part includes English language references on Polish education published by the Polish government, as well as English language material from non-Polish sources. The periodical part contains references to articles from English language Polish periodicals, translated articles from Polish language journals and newspapers, and some articles from non-Polish sources. That part is sub-divided into a topic organization particularly practical for research purposes on contemporary Polish education. Within each sub-division, the items are listed with the most recently dated first, although topically related articles are placed together even where this is not in sequential chronological order.

The periodical articles listed are particularly useful for

research on the contemporary educational situation, and to improve a perspective on the content and process of educational change in Poland. These articles also provide an unusually broad view on different Polish viewpoints on education.

A number of periodicals listed have been derived from JPRS (Joint Publications Research Service) of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Technical Services. The JPRS index available at a number of libraries, lists Polish language articles translated into English and stocked in the microfilm collections of a few libraries. Bound copies of these translations are rarely available. Unfortunately, the JPRS index does not use "Polish Education" as a descriptor, and requires the gleaning of information from the broad general category,"Poland." The following key is helpful in using the JPRS translations listed in this bibliography: TEESA (Translations on Eastern European Scientific Affairs- No. listed is microfilm number); TEEEIA (Translations on Eastern Europe Economic and Industrial Affairs- No. listed is microfilm number); and TEEPSMA (Translations on Eastern Europe: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs- No. listed is microfilm number).

Nearly all listings in this bibliography are recent publications. This should increase its usefulness for researchers on the content changes and the processes of decision-making in Polish education.

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